

The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Volume III.
Number 9.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Development of the Castle in England and Wales -	191
The Certification of High School Teachers of History, by Prof. Edgar Dawson -	200
Periodical Literature, by Mary W. Williams -	203
Editorial Page -	204
Outline of Modern European History, by D. C. Knowlton, Ph.D., and Arthur M. Wolfson, Ph.D. -	205
History in the Elementary School.—A Lesson Plan on European Conditions in the 15th Century, by Blanche A. Cheney -	207
Bibliography of History, Prof. W. J. Chase, Editor -	209
Recent Historical Publications, by C. A. Coulomb, Ph.D. -	210

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Development of the Castle in England and Wales

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE [ENGLISH] HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

It is an unfortunate fact that the simplest account of the development of the art of castle-building in England must deal, at the very outset, with matters which are hardly yet beyond the range of controversy. The questions whether the origins of the English castle are to be sought in the private fortifications of Anglo-Saxon thegns, or in the defensive works of Norman knights or barons, has not yet reached a final settlement; and for some time to come, it will be impossible to speak with certainty about the relation which the fortresses raised in the days of the first two Norman kings bear to the earthworks which have descended to the present time from the period which lies beyond 1066.* But although this reservation must undoubtedly be made, it is no less true that such evidence as is at present available in this matter makes with remarkable consistency for the belief that the art of castle-building, in the usual acceptation of the phrase, was introduced into England as a result of the Norman influence which became predominant in the eleventh century. The remarks in regard to this point of Ordericus Vitalis, who finds a main reason for the rapidity of the Norman Conquest of England in the fact that the English had possessed very few of those fortresses which the Normans knew as castles,† are supported both by the recorded progress of castle-building in the country during the reign of William I and by the resemblance in general plan between the earliest Norman castles in England and the remains of contemporary fortifications in Normandy, and it is very significant that the first work of the Conqueror as he passed over his new kingdom was the establishment of castles in all the greater towns of the country, and along all the more important lines of road. Little as we know about the internal history of England during the Conqueror's reign, we can at once compile a list of from fifty to sixty castles built during the twenty years which followed 1066. It is at least evident that William I felt that his hold upon England would never be secure until the land was planted everywhere with castles in the hands of persons whom he could trust, and that it is from his activity in this matter that the great majority of the castles existing at the close of his reign derive their origin.

THE EARLIEST ENGLISH CASTLES.

The Norman origin of the English castle is only rendered the more evident by the existence of a small but remarkable group of such fortresses known to have been built before the coming of the Conqueror. In Herefordshire, a considerable number of Norman settlers had been established before the year 1050, and three of the castles which they founded before 1066 to the disgust of the country side can be identified at the present day. The castle which they built at Hereford itself is likely to have been the strongest of the group; but a portion of its bailey is all that now remains of its defences, and its fame in history is less than that which attaches to the fortress raised by Richard, the son of Scrob, in the northeastern angle of the county. Owing in part

to the exaggerated respect formerly paid to the forcible language in which the compiler of the Laud manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle expresses his disapproval of the Herefordshire castle-men, in part to the erroneous view which assigned to these early fortresses much greater solidity of structure than ever belonged to them in fact,‡ Richard's Castle has acquired a sinister reputation which is not borne out by the actual evidence relating to the history of this elementary earthwork. The third castle of the series, Ewias Harold, at the southern entrance of the Golden Valley, is chiefly interesting in that its name perpetuates the memory of the son of the Norman Earl of Hereford, Ralf of Mantes, the Confessor's nephew. At the other end of the country there is a distinct probability that Clavering Castle, in Essex, was the work of Swegen, the native sheriff of that shire; and if we may trust the contemporary accounts of the negotiations which passed between William of Normandy and Harold, son of Godwine, at the time of the latter's famous oath, the castle had already been built at Dover which was in being when the Norman army marched to that town after the capture of Romney in 1066. All the castles which have just been named were built after the pattern subsequently adopted by the first generation of Norman settlers—a pattern which will shortly be described—and were regarded as unwelcome innovations by the native chroniclers of the period, in this respect no doubt reflecting the general opinion of the country. But it may be remarked in passing, that if the instinctive conservatism of the average Anglo-Saxon thegn had only permitted his imitation of these foreign models of defensive work, the permanent reduction of England would certainly not have been accomplished within five years of the battle of Hastings.

ANGLO-SAXON FORTIFICATION.

The existence of this little group of fortresses hardly affects the general accuracy of the statement that the first phase of the art of castellation in England belongs to the years which immediately followed 1066. But it must at once be admitted that from a remote period of their history the Anglo-Saxons had recognized the necessity of founding fortified posts in the land. Their practice in this respect has left abundant traces on the surface of English local nomenclature among the numerous place-names which end in the familiar terminals *borough* or *bury*.§ It is even possible, though all the evidence makes in the opposite direction, that

* The section in Professor Freeman's "Norman Conquest" (II, 136-8), headed, in the Contents, "Outrages of the Normans in Herefordshire," is largely responsible for these ideas. In 1868, the erection of stone castles of the keep and base-court type, was greatly antedated; and Professor Freeman's remarks on "the tall, square, massive, donjon of the Normans" are highly anachronistic when applied to the English fortresses of 1051.

† "Historia Ecclesiastica," Ed. Le Prévost, II, 184.

§ It may be noted that "borough" commonly represents the nominative, and "bury" the dative—*byrig*—of the O. E. *burh*, a fort or stronghold. The primitive character of these works may be gathered from the famous interpolation in the Old English Chronicle under the year 547, to the effect that Ida of Northumbria "built Bamburgh (*Bebban burh*), it was first enclosed with a hedge, and afterwards with a stone wall."

* See references in Bibliographical Note.

here and there, on the eve of the Conquest, a wealthy thegn may have raised for himself a fortress after the Norman plan;* that, for example, the remarkable earthworks at Laxton in Nottinghamshire may possibly have been thrown up by Tochi the son of Outi, lord of the manor in 1066, rather than by Geoffrey Alselin, its Domesday owner or his successors. But the number of cases in which this may conceivably have happened is exceedingly small; and the private defences of the Anglo-Saxon period, in so far as we know them, were but rudimentary affairs. Eddlesborough or Bucklebury can hardly have been more than a line of hedge or palisading drawn round the farm-steadings of Eadwulf or Burghild; and even those fortresses which were intended to protect the country at large against an invader were elementary in design and simple in construction. The normal plan of an Anglo-Saxon borough, an imitation of the defences with which the Romans had surrounded the more important settlements, civil and military, which they founded in Britain, merely implied the enclosure of a rectangular area with a rampart and external ditch, such as may be seen in perfection at Wallingford; and the strongest towns of the period were those in which, as in the cases of Lincoln, Chester, and York, the remains of Roman masonry composed, or had been incorporated into, the borough wall. The weakness of this arrangement lay in the fact that when the town was attacked, its defenders were in general too few to man the entire round of the ramparts. It is one of the vexed questions of later Anglo-Saxon history whether, in the early tenth century, when the attempt was made to provide the country at large with a series of defensible posts, recognition of this danger led to the erection of fortresses comparable in area with the castles of the Norman period. The evidence in relation to this point is conflicting; for the contemporary section of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, in recording the activities of Edward the Elder and Ethelflaed of Mercia in the building of *burhs*, says little as to the nature of these works, which can only be inferred, at best, from the dubious evidence supplied by their existing remains. At Stamford and Bedford it seems certain that Edward's work consisted in the foundation and enclosure of new boroughs to the south of the rivers upon which those places respectively stand; at Worcester he appears to have fortified an ancient borough with a stone wall; at Maldon and Witham, the remains of wide, rectangular enclosures, surrounded with earthen ramparts, suggests that he followed the plan and scale of the boroughs of an earlier age even when his work was not determined by any relation to an existing town. On the other hand, it seems probable that the two *burhs* at Nottingham were merely forts commanding the bridge between them which spanned the Trent at this point; and at Towcester and Bakewell, existing mounds of earth with no obvious indications of external works, have been thought to represent the results of Edward's fortifications at these places. But whatever may have been the exact nature of his works, and they probably varied between place and place, they rapidly lost their significance as factors in a general scheme of national defence. When William the Conqueror landed, the walled town was the only type of fortress with which he had to deal; and except in the solitary case of Exeter, its reduction would appear to have given him but little difficulty.

THE MOTTE AND BAILEY.

If we may form conclusions from the existing remains of such defensive works as may be referred to the eleventh century, a remarkable uniformity of plan underlies the great

* The sentence from Ordericus Vitalis to which reference has already been made points in this direction. Its tenor suggests that its author was referring to castles in native hands, not to Norman fortresses such as those in Herefordshire.

majority of the earliest Norman castles in England. The type to which they conform—a type now commonly known from its distinctive features as that of the motte and bailey—is of frequent occurrence among the castles of Normandy; and it was reproduced on an extensive scale both during the Norman occupation of South Wales in the early years of the twelfth century, in Scotland under David I and his successors, and in the course of the conquest of Ireland a generation later.† The main features of the type may here, for the sake of brevity, be reduced to two; in the first place, a mound of earth, with a ditch surrounding it and a wooden palisade crowning it; in the second place, and below the mound, a base-court or bailey, encircled with its own ditch, rampart and stockade, and separated from the mound by the former. At the summit of the mound there would be a dwelling-place of some kind—in most cases apparently a wooden tower—in which the lord of the castle resided; within the bailey would stand the stables and domestic buildings. Of the latter, for obvious reasons, only the scantiest of traces are discernible at the present day, but that wood and not stone was the material commonly employed in the castles of the Conqueror's reign is proved by abundant evidence. The almost universal absence of any masonry which can reasonably be referred to the eleventh century is of itself highly significant, and the literary evidence points in the same direction. The real strength of the castle lay in the height of its mound and the depth of its ditch; the nature of the buildings contained within it was a matter of quite inferior importance.

Earthworks of this type are distributed over the whole of England and Wales, although the number contained within a given county bears no obvious relation either to its area or to its geographical position. It is natural enough that the shires along the Welsh border should be thickly planted with such earthworks, of which Herefordshire contains thirty-two, but it is more remarkable that the type should be illustrated by numerous and highly developed examples in the eastern counties, in regard to which the necessity for frontier defence did not arise. Nor can we readily find a reason for the fact that between these districts there occurs an area in which the type is much more sparsely represented; Leicestershire contains four certain examples, Nottinghamshire, five. One is on safer ground in asserting that an earthwork of the motte and bailey pattern will normally be found in any place which was the *caput* of a feudal honor, and that the seats of the more important mesne tenants of the eleventh century will not infrequently be distinguished in the same way. At Tutbury, Pontefract, Eye, Dunster, Cainhoe (Bedfordshire), Wigmore, Dudley, Tickhill, Belvoir, Tamworth, Berkhamstead, Laxton (Notts), the *capita* of the Domesday fiefs of Henry de Ferrers, Ilbert de Lacy, Robert Malet, William de Moion, Nigel de Albini, Ralf de Mortimer, William the son of Ansulf, Roger de Bulli, Robert de Todeni, Robert "Dispensator," Robert Count of Mortain, and Geoffrey Alselin, a motte and bailey in each case marks the site of the lord's residence, even when, as at Laxton, there is no reason to suspect that buildings of stone were ever added to its defence. Sometimes, as at Tutbury and Belvoir, the building of the castle was followed, in accordance with Continental ideas, by the development of a new borough in front of its walls, and by the foundation of a religious house in its neighborhood; but in many cases, the centre of the honor was fixed in one of the ancient shire towns of the land, and William Peverel, Hugh de Grentemaisnil, and Henry de Beaumont seem each to have fixed their chief residence in the castles which they respectively held for the king in the boroughs of Nottingham, Leicester, and Warwick.

† See Orpen in Eng. Hist. Rev. XXI., 417. A detailed investigation of the mottes of South Wales is much to be desired.

Among the hundreds of such fortifications which survive in a reasonable state of preservation a rigid uniformity of design could not be expected to prevail, although the main features of the type are in fact reproduced with general consistency amid the most diverse of local conditions. It is in regard to the number and disposition of the baileys, and in their relation to the castle mound, that variations were commonly made upon the simple type. Where more than one bailey occurs in a single castle, the second bailey will generally extend beyond the first on the face remote from the mound, as at Ongar, Essex; less frequently, both baileys, with a ditch between them, will abut upon the mound as at Newtown, Montgomery, and in a small group of castles, to which Nottingham, Arundel, and Windsor belong, the mound occupies the centre of the whole fortification.* In the latter case, however, it is a reasonable inference that one or more of the baileys represents a later addition to the original fortress, since the normal position of the mound on the outer edge of the defences was undoubtedly felt to be of value in giving to its defenders, in the last resort, a means of egress to the open country. In regard to the more important English castles, it is generally possible to establish a rough correspondence between the several parts of the fortress as they have descended to the present day and the statements in chronicles or records relating to the progress of building operations on the site; and the result, save in the rarest instances, is to leave the mound with its external bailey as the nucleus around which defensive works of greater elaboration have been grouped by later designers.

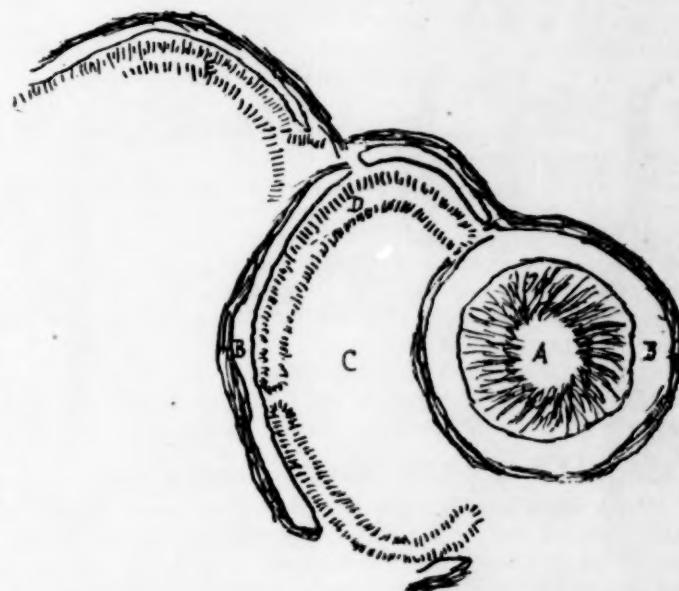
The nature of the sites on which these early castles were planted varied indefinitely in different cases. Many a site which would be recommended by its inaccessibility would be held unsuitable for lack of water, while, on the other hand, in the days before gunpowder, it was immaterial that a castle should be overlooked by higher ground near it so long as that ground lay beyond arrowshot. In general, there is a strong tendency for an early castle to stand immediately against some river or stream, one side of the defences thus being impregnable from the outset. When a castle was built in order to command a town, it will nearly always be found to stand on the borough walls, or just outside them; and as most towns are built on rivers, the castle will commonly stand at the point where the wall and river defences of the town coincide. This is the case at Oxford, Cambridge, Wallingford, Bedford, Chester, York, Warwick, Stamford, Hereford, Leicester, and Shrewsbury, to name a few examples. Stafford and Lincoln are exceptions; resulting, in the latter case, from the fact that the town wall itself was drawn along the face of the hill at a considerable distance from the river below, in the former case, apparently, from the wish to command the important road which led from Shrewsbury to the Midlands. The motive which planted the castle on the edge of the borough defences was evidently the wish to facilitate communication, in case of siege, with a relieving army, combined with a recognition of the danger which would follow from the firing of adjacent houses by an enemy. No single principle determined the sites of the more numerous castles which arose in the open country—it can only be said that the advantage of obtaining a view over as extensive a tract of country as possible was undoubtedly felt and acted upon in numerous instances. Belvoir Castle, overlooking the lowlands of south Nottinghamshire; Rockingham Castle, dominating the Welland Valley; Richard's Castle, near Ludlow, commanding the whole northeastern corner of Herefordshire, are cases in point. The castle-builders of the eleventh century were keenly alive to the facts of local geography.

* See plans of Windsor in *Vict. Hist. Berkshire I*, and of Nottingham in Clark, "Medieval Military Architecture."

It is not difficult to understand the reasons which caused this type of fortress to be so widely adopted by the conquerors of England. It was cheap in the building, and when built it could be defended adequately by a very small body of men. The Norman baron who wished to erect a castle had only to capture a sufficient number of rustics and make them dig. Then, too, the speed with which these primitive castles could be thrown up was an important consideration. In 1068, in the course of a campaign which only lasted a month or two, William the Conqueror founded the castles of Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, with, probably, those of Leicester and Stamford as well. In 1069, a second castle was built in York, the mound of which, known as the Baile Hill, still survives, and the building of which took eight days. Even at this early date, on bare hill-sides where stone was more plentiful than earth or timber, stone towers may have been built at the outset, but the possible examples are few and uncertain.

ONGAR, ESSEX.

Founded on V.C.H. Essex I. 297.



(A) Motte. (B) Moat. (C) Inner Bailey. (D) Rampart to carry Stockade. (E) Rampart of Outer Bailey.

The rectangular towers of Peak Castle and Clitheroe stand upon sites of this character which were already fortified in 1085; but neither of these towers is as early as the Conqueror's reign, and that of Peak Castle is a representative example of the square keeps of the twelfth century. A stone keep might well take a year or more in the building, it was very expensive, and it demanded labor of a more highly skilled sort than was at the service of the average baron under ordinary circumstances. Then, too, it was highly important that the castle should only present a very small frontage to an attack. When we remember that in 1086 the total number of knights in England probably amounted to something under 5,000, and that trained and efficient men-at-arms were relatively few, it will appear that the average castle could not have been constructed so as to require a large force for its defence. We certainly must not endow the conquerors of England with anything approaching the resources of men and money possessed by their sons and grandsons.

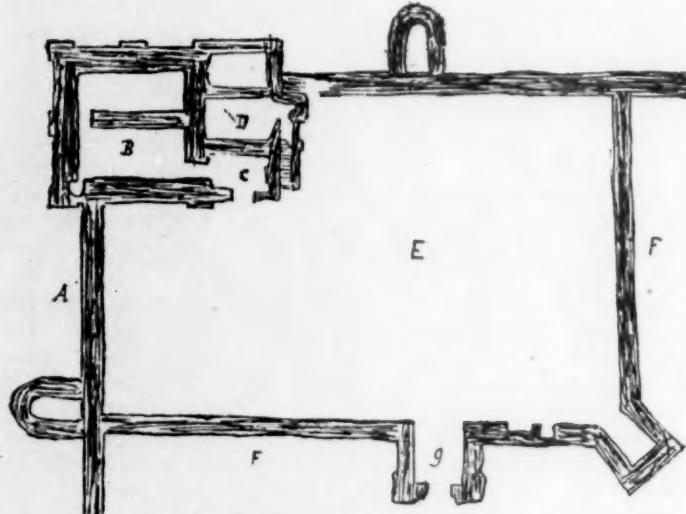
THE SHELL KEEP.

It was quite certain, however, that as the Norman baronage became more firmly settled in the country and times became quieter, the consequent leisure would permit improvements in the art of fortification; and the most obvious of these developments was clearly the substitution of stone for wood in the buildings of the castle. The stockade which had originally surrounded the crest of the mound would be replaced by a stone wall, and stone buildings would gradually arise upon its inner face. To a structure of this kind archaeologists have given the name of a shell keep; a ring of wall, polygonal or circular, enclosing an open space. As it is highly unsafe to erect heavy stone buildings on made ground, such as the crest of an earthen motte, some considerable time had commonly to pass before this improvement was brought about; but by the end of the twelfth century it had already been reached in numerous instances. Among surviving castles, Lincoln, Carisbrooke, and Totnes had already developed shell keeps before 1154; Arundel, Berkeley,

PORCHESTER CASTLE, HAMPSHIRE,

After V.C.H. Hants III. 156.

(Buildings later than Twelfth Century ignored.)



(A) Line of Roman Wall—produced to include Outer Ward. (B) Keep on Mound. (C) Chapel. (D) Forebuilding and Stairway. (E) Inner Ward. (F) Twelfth Century wall of Inner Ward. (G) Gatehouse.

and Windsor reached this stage before the close of the century, and similar defences were added to other castles of the motte and bailey type until at least the reign of Edward III, to which period the shells of Durham and Lewes have been referred. In the meantime, a stone wall was generally substituted for the original palisade which ran along the scarp of the bailey; and domestic buildings, of which a fine, though late, series exists, for example, at Dudley, were erected within its limits. The entrance to the castle, which always gave immediate access to the bailey or ward rather than to the motte, was commonly fortified with stone at an early date; and stone bridges and stairways came to replace the planks and ladders which had formerly crossed the moats, and led from the bailey to the summit of the mound. On the other hand, it should be noted that the appearance of stonework on the line of the bailey may well, in any given case, be antecedent to the erection of masonry on the motte; at Bedford there was a stone tower on the bailey before the shell keep was planted on the motte, and while there are now no traces of any building upon the ill-compacted soil of the

motte at Stamford, the remains of a chapel of the thirteenth century exist upon the inner face of the castle wall. This reservation does not affect the general course of development followed by the mound and court castle, but it is remarkable that in many instances no signs of masonry are now to be discovered anywhere within the precincts of fortresses which remained positions of military importance for an extended period. Full allowance must be made in this connection for processes of destruction in modern times; processes which, for example, have denuded the motte and bailey of Fotheringhay of every trace of the buildings within which the tragedy of 1587 was enacted, but it cannot be doubted that the original wooden tower and stockade frequently sufficed for the accommodation of the lord of the castle so long as he continued to fix his residence there.

RECTANGULAR KEEPS.

Such was, in outline, the later development of many of the earthen defences raised in haste by the first generation of the Norman settlers in England, the castles of the period 1066-1100. But from the death of William II onwards through the twelfth century, rapidity of construction was no longer a matter of supreme importance in the building of a castle. The native English were becoming reconciled to the Norman rule, and save for the years of anarchy under Stephen the central government was, in general, strong enough to keep the peace of the realm. Accordingly Anglo-Norman barons of the second generation, in founding their castles, will generally build them of stone from the beginning;* and the plan which they adopted was that which has come to be regarded as the typical form of a Norman castle in England—the square tower, with a walled enclosure appended to it. The square tower had been employed in French fortifications at least twenty years before the Norman Conquest; but its introduction into England was slowly accomplished, and the "White Tower" of London and the keep of Colchester are the only examples certainly anterior to the death of William I. Now the component parts of such a typical castle, the tower and the enclosure, though almost universally found in combination, represent distinct stages in the art of fortification. The enclosure corresponding to the bailey of the older type of castle—the *castellum*, strictly so called—derives in the last resort from the rectangular *castra* of Roman times; it represents a reproduction, on a smaller scale, of the normal defences which surrounded the towns of the Anglo-Saxon period. The tower or "keep" is a device of medieval invention, appropriate to the new conditions of society which rose with the development of the feudal system. Accordingly, it will not infrequently be found that within a single fortress the tower and enclosure beneath it came into being at different dates. Sometimes, as at London, and probably at Bristol, the original fortress consisted of the tower; more frequently, as at Rochester and New castle, the tower was added to a pre-existing ward. At Ludlow, recent excavations show the existing rectangular keep to have been developed from the gate-house of the original enclosure. But by the second quarter of the twelfth century the normal castle had come to include both features, and the original distinction between them was already by way of being forgotten.†

* At Lincoln, Porchester, and Pevensey, adjacent remains of Roman masonry were turned to account in the original construction of the castles in question. The first and last of these belong to the motte and bailey type; Pevensey was founded in 1066, Lincoln in 1068. At Porchester and Pevensey the whole *enceinte* is composed of Roman walling.

† See Round, "Geoffrey de Mandeville," Appendix "Tower and Castle," pp. 328-346.

In connection with castles of this type, the main feature is the fact that their strength depended almost entirely upon the facilities which they afforded for an extended period of passive defence. Their walls are, in general, enormously thick; a feature due in great part to the inferior quality of the mortar used by their builders, but allowing the passages required for internal communication to run within the wall itself; and the structure is in most cases further strengthened by flat buttresses. A series of rectangular slits in the thickness of the wall would commonly suffice for windows, though at an early date, round-headed openings such as are found in ecclesiastical buildings of the eleventh century were occasionally introduced into the upper stories of the keep. The only entrance to the keep was usually fixed on the first floor, access being given to it at first by a ladder or open staircase as at Guildford, but in later times by a fore-building, such as is well seen, for example, in the tower of Newcastle. A well was commonly sunk through the foundations of the keep, though at times, as at Ludlow, the well head appears within the fortifications of the inner ward; the roof of the tower was usually crowned with battlements. With regard to the disposition of the several rooms comprised within the keep there is the greatest variety between different castles. A store room, a hall, a private chamber for the lord of the castle, are fairly constant features; not infrequently, as at London, Guildford, Colchester, and Newcastle, a chapel or oratory also is included; but in the course of years there was a tendency to erect chapel, hall, guard-rooms, domestic offices, and other buildings required for the life of the castle in time of peace, within the limits of the adjacent ward rather than in the keep itself. In time of war, the garrison would concentrate their efforts upon the defence of the keep, and for so long as their provisions held out the chances of the event were wholly in their favour. It was always difficult, and frequently impossible, for a besieging host to undermine an opposing fortress; mine could be met by countermine, and a tower which stood upon rock was invulnerable from beneath. A stone wall twelve feet thick, such as composed the keep of many castles of the twelfth century, was fairly proof against the rudimentary siege engines of the time, and a direct assault was in general out of the question. Reduction by famine was the only certain means which could be employed against such a fortress, and the patience of a feudal host was commonly too small for an effective blockade to be sustained for a sufficient period. In relation to contemporary methods of attack, and for purposes of a purely passive defence, the perfected Norman keep was a structure most admirably adapted to the ends which it was designed to serve.

The obvious advantages of a solid keep led in a number of cases to its addition to the defensive works of castles originally built after the pattern of the motte and bailey. At Gloucester, the keep, now vanished, seems to have stood in the middle of the bailey, probably enlarged for the purpose; at Newcastle, it certainly occupied a site distinct from the original motte. At Guildford, and at Clun in Shropshire, a rectangular keep was placed upon the motte itself; a retaining wall at Guildford converting the remainder of the summit of the motte into a middle ward, while at Clun there exist the remains of a shell keep upon the motte in addition to the rectangular tower. At Nottingham, there is evidence to show that a square tower of the early thirteenth century was placed upon the motte; but in general this plan was rarely adopted, owing, no doubt, to the fact that the artificial mound afforded an insecure foundation for the tremendous weight of a rectangular keep. In the two great royal castles of Kent, at Canterbury and Rochester, a new site, apparently outside the limits of the original bailey, was chosen for the square towers built there in the twelfth century. At Oxford, the place of a keep seems to have been supplied by

the remarkable tower, of early Norman date, which dominates the river face of the bailey wall. But at Shrewsbury and York, until the thirteenth century, the king was content with wooden towers upon the crest of the respective mottes, when the tower of Shrewsbury appears to have collapsed of its own accord, and that of York was blown down by the wind.

The general difficulty of determining the exact date at which rectangular keeps were erected in English castles gives especial importance to the case of Bridgenorth on the Severn, in regard to which we possess the necessary information. In 1102 Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, in preparation for his revolt against Henry I., abandoned the fortress of the motte and bailey pattern which he possessed at Quatford on the left bank of the river, and proceeded to build a new castle of stone upon the strong peninsular site where the town of Bridgenorth now stands. The work was done in haste, but the keep of the new fortress has survived in the massive rectangular tower which, severely damaged at the time of the Civil War, may with accuracy be assigned to the year 1102. It was probably in consequence of the intrinsic strength of the new work that Robert of Bellême, when war broke out, entrusted its defence to three of his knights in command of a force of eighty mercenaries, choosing himself to defend the weaker castle of Shrewsbury in person. Upon the king's advance the castle was cut off from external support, a counter-work was erected against it, and it was assaulted with siege engines. The besiegers possessed an overwhelming superiority in numbers, but even so, the siege lasted for a month, and the castle was only surrendered at last against the will of the mercenary portion of the garrison, through the defection of the knights in command, who were intimidated by the king's threats and by a sense of their own numerical inferiority. It is significant that Robert of Bellême declined to stand a siege in the motte and bailey earthwork of Shrewsbury.

In view of the defensive strength of the new rectangular keeps it was always a matter of policy for a strong king to insist that his license should be obtained before any one of his barons raised a private fortress. Under a weak ruler, the work of castle-building invariably passed beyond the royal control. And so, during the eighteen years in which King Stephen contested his crown with the Empress Matilda, the number of castles built was greater than in any previous period of equal length. In most cases it is impossible to tell whether these unlicensed castles belonged to the mound and base-court type or whether they were fortified with square towers and stone walls; but the ease with which great numbers of them were dismantled in a few months when Henry II. had restored order suggests that for the most part they were rudimentary structures; and we know on unexceptionable authority that they were largely built by forced, and therefore presumably unskilled, labour. For the most part they would seem to have been demolished before written record had been made of their existence; and if any traces of them survived to the present day, they must be sought among the many scattered earthworks of the mound and court type for which no definite origin can be assigned. So far as our knowledge goes, the "adulterine" castles of Stephen's day mark a relapse from the methods of fortification practised in the time of Henry I., and have no place in the general development of the art of castle-building in England.

At this date, then, the most highly developed form of castle in the country consisted of a square, solid keep, commanding a walled enclosure. The keep was the cardinal point of the whole fortress; the enclosure might well fall into an enemy's hands without materially endangering the security of the defenders of the tower. The strength of such

a fortress was, as we have seen, wholly passive; it could not be taken without the expenditure of a wholly disproportionate amount of time and labour,* but its defenders could do but little actively towards the discomfiture of their besiegers. It was consequently impossible for a garrison to do anything of itself to force the abandonment of a siege. It was this fact which was the essential weakness of the Norman castle; it was a valuable precaution against an English rising or a Scotch raid, but its garrison could inflict little harm on an enemy. The development of the castle into something effective as a base for an offensive strategy was inevitable; but in England its accomplishment was late in comparison with the similar process occurring on the continent.

It would be an error to regard the remarkable change which came over the methods of English fortification in the early thirteenth century as a sudden revolution, unconnected with what had gone before. Despite the general conservatism of English castle builders, there are not wanting signs to show that some time before the close of the twelfth century they were gradually working their way towards fortifications of greater elaboration than had sufficed in the times of Henry I. or Stephen. A twelfth century castle of the type of Conisbrough, in which the outline of the defensive works was defined with accuracy according to the lie of the land, shows that a change in the type of the English castle was already imminent. Architects were ceasing to rely for strength upon mere solidity of structure, and were endeavouring by greater intricacy of ground-plan to make compensation for the abandonment of the impregnable defences of the keep. Fortification, in fact, was becoming somewhat of a science, replacing the empirical methods which had prevailed in the past.

THE CYLINDRICAL KEEP.

To this time of transition may probably be assigned the introduction into English castles of a new type of defensive work, the cylindrical tower, sometimes known as the *juliet* or donjon. Rarely attaining in England the development which it reached, for example, in such a French fortress as Coucy, the cylindrical tower was recommended to builders on account of its combination of solidity with economy in material, and remains a remarkable feature of thirteenth century fortification. Skenfrith Castle in Monmouthshire consists of a single ward, in shape an irregular quadrilateral, enclosing such a tower, 40 feet high, 36 feet in diameter, and with walls 7 feet in thickness. More remarkable as an illustration of the type is the donjon of Pembroke, 75 feet high, its unbuttressed walls, pierced with narrow loopholes, resembling in thickness the square keeps of an earlier age, its roof formed by a solid cone of masonry. But the greatest work of the kind in England is the keep of Conisbrough, which probably dates from the very close of the twelfth century. Upon the line of the curtain wall there rises a cylindrical tower, 90 feet high, its walls, 14 feet thick, supported by six deep buttresses, its entrance, on the level of the first floor, reached by an external stairway. The basement is vaulted; and the tower contains a chapel or oratory ornamented with the architectural details characteristic of the period. The passive strength of such a tower

* A besieging general, at this period, would commonly begin operations by entrenching his troops in a series of counterworks, placed so as to command the means of egress from the castle before him. This method was already adopted by William I when Duke of Normandy in the sieges of Domfront (1048), and Arques (1054); it was followed by William II at Bamburgh (1095) by Henry I at Arundel and Bridgenorth (1101), by Stephen at Castle Cary, and Harptree (1138), Ludlow (1139), and Wallingford (1139-40), and by Richard de Lacy at Huntingdon (1174). The introduction of the rectangular keep does not seem to have produced any immediate effect upon the methods of siegework.

was at least as great as that possessed by any of the rectangular keeps built earlier in the century; like them it formed a base, if need arose, for the final stand of the garrison. But the donjon, its strength notwithstanding, was rarely introduced into an English or Welsh castle of the first class.

The characteristic features of thirteenth century fortification receive, in this country, their fullest expression in the great castles built to command the Snowdon range by Edward I. In Normandy, a century earlier, they had been carried into effect by Richard I. in his great work of Chateau Gaillard. The essential principles which underlie the construction of these new fortresses may, with some sacrifice of detail, be reduced to two. In the first place, the plan of the castle follows, and is determined by, the contour of the ground on which it is placed. Instead of reproducing the type of the motte and bailey, or of the keep and base-court, with little regard to the details of the local situation, the builders of the thirteenth century planned their castles with the utmost care so as to make the fullest use of whatever advantage the ground might present. As a result, the ground-plans of these new fortifications are hardly ever identical in any two instances, and it is therefore impossible to do more than indicate the prevailing types to which the individual castles approximate in greater or less degree.

But when due allowance has been made on the score of these variations of plan, the second principle active in thirteenth century fortification still remains evident—the idea of opposing a series of defences to an attack, expressed in the adoption, where expedient, of a concentric disposition of the several wards of the castle. The sketch which is annexed here is intended to indicate the rough outline of an ideal concentric castle; it may serve to show the nature of the change from the rudimentary structures of the keep and base-court type, although in actual fact the concentric outline was only attained through many intermediate stages, and in England at least, is rarely carried out in perfection. We have here a series of three enclosures, or three wards, no two of which are bounded at any point by the same line of wall. As in practice the walls increased in height as one passed from the outer to the inner ward, each ward in turn was commanded by the one which lay within it, and the defenders of the castle had by no means a hopeless task before them, even when the outer and middle wards had been stormed. The gates of each ward were narrow openings, each commanded by its own pair of towers; and the gates themselves were so arranged that even when one of them had been carried by assault, the enemy were compelled to pass under the fire of the garrison for some distance before they could attack the entrance to the next ward. Such a fortress was, in fact, equal to three castles in one, and its capture became almost impossible so long as the garrison were adequately supported by an army in the field outside. The failure of provisions, or treachery among the garrison, were the most frequent reasons for the rare collapse of the defensive.

In matters of detail, the most notable advance marked by the new castles of the thirteenth century was made in relation to the structure of the castle walls. In the older castles, the garrison could not command the ground immediately at the foot of the castle wall except by dropping missiles upon it. In the new type of castle, long stretches of bare wall, and angles pointing to the interior of the structure were alike avoided; and the wall of each ward was set with towers placed so as to afford a lateral fire upon the men who were attacking it at any single point. It was deliberately attempted to prevent any portion of the wall of any ward from exposure to an attack which could not be met by a transverse fire, and in every castle built after the period we have reached, whether it conforms to the concentric type or not, we shall find the mural tower a prominent feature.

To the same period also belongs the introduction into England of those mural defences upon which the names of bractices and machicolations have been conferred, devices already adopted in France in the previous century. A soldier leaning over the top of a wall to discharge missiles at an enemy underneath became an obvious target for the enemies' arrows and slings. Accordingly a plan was introduced by which the defenders of a castle, while still able to annoy the enemy, would be sheltered from the latter's weapons. A series of stones was removed from a line near the summit of the wall, wooden posts were built into the resulting holes, and a line of planks was laid upon them, this line being perforated at intervals so as to admit of missiles being sent through the floor upon the enemy beneath. A roof was erected over the whole structure, or *bractice*, of which the most serious defects were the inflammable nature of its materials and its liability to gradual decay under exposure to the weather. The *machicolation* results from the bractice by the simple substitution of stone for wood in its construction; and mural defences of this kind were commonly erected in stone from the outset in castles built after the middle of the thirteenth century.

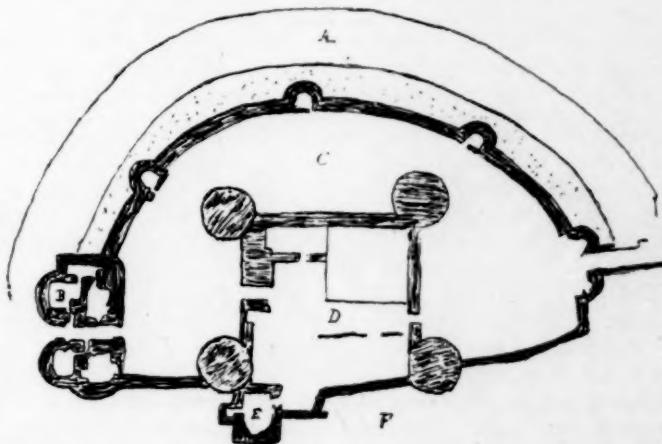
The three castles in the British Isles which are most strictly built on concentric lines are the Tower of London, Beaumaris in Anglesea, and Caerphilly in Glamorganshire. The concentric outline of the Tower of London results from the addition of later enclosing wards to an eleventh-century rectangular keep; it is a remarkable illustration of the manner in which an early Norman fortress might be developed into a perfect example of the thirteenth century type. Beaumaris consists of two wards only; the outer wall an almost regular octagon, with towers at each angle, and in the centre of each face, except in the quarter fronting the main entrance; the inner ward, a square, enclosed with a wall of great height, strengthened with towers of extreme solidity and crowned with battlements. Caerphilly, erected by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, about 1270, from the standpoint of general design, is perhaps the strongest fortress in the country—it occupied an island in the middle of an artificial lake, and is accessible only by a narrow causeway starting from its eastern and western shores. Whitecastle (Mon.) is an early example of approximation to the concentric model. But perhaps a more fully typical example of thirteenth century methods of castle-building occurs at Kidwelly on the shores of Carmarthen bay. Kidwelly castle, which was founded by Payn de Chaworth within a few years of 1250, stands on the right bank of the river Gwendraeth, at this point a wide stream affording valuable protection to the eastern face of the defences. The whole plan of the castle was determined by the security of its river front, which is composed of a single line of wall, of no remarkable height or strength. This line of wall, in relation to the outline of the whole castle, forms the chord of a semicircle, of which the bounding wall, on the side remote from the river, is set with mural towers and is protected by a deep moat. The entrance to the castle, situated near to its south-eastern angle, is formed by a massive gateway, three stories high, strengthened with towers at each corner, and containing guard-rooms and storehouses, built of excellent masonry. This gateway gives immediate access to the outer ward of the castle, which surrounds on three sides the rectangular inner ward, the central point of the whole fortification. The fourth side of the latter coincides throughout its entire length with the central portion of the river face of the outer ward; a departure from the strictly concentric form of ground plan which is evidently occasioned by the natural strength of the eastern front of the castle. Each angle of the inner ward, within which lay hall, chapel, and domestic buildings, was protected with the large circular towers characteristic of the period,

and the whole castle is an early and successful example of the fortress of the thirteenth-century type.

It will be evident that a castle of the concentric type is most likely to be found in the middle of a stretch of open country, where all sides of the castle are equally exposed to attack. A castle built on the edge of a precipice will only need a single line of wall on the side which overlooks the precipice.* A good illustration of this fact, and incidentally an interesting comparison between the methods of fortification practised in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, is afforded by the two castles of Montgomery. The fortress which is commonly known as Montgomery Castle stands on a narrow tongue of land, protected by a steep descent on three sides. Along this tongue of land are arranged four wards, each one separated from the next by a broad ditch cut in the solid rock. The first ward, looking towards the only point from which an attack could possibly be made, and the second ward, stand on virtually the same level; the third ward is distinctly lower than the others, and could hardly have been defended when the second ward had fallen. On the other hand, the fourth ward is no less distinctly the highest of the whole series; it stands on the very edge of the cliff, and the position of an enemy in the low third ward would have been tenable only with great difficulty under the missiles of the garrison in the fourth. Montgomery Castle then is obviously planned with a careful eye to the nature of the ground, but this is hardly its main interest. In Domesday Book we are told of a castle built at this place by Roger de Montgomery the first earl of Shrewsbury. Until recently it has been supposed that this was identical with the fortress which we have been

KIDWELLY CASTLE, CARMARTHEN.

After Clark, Medieval Military Architecture.



(A) Moat. (B) Gatehouse. (C) Outer Ward. (D) Inner Ward.
(E) Chapel. (F) Slope to River.

considering—"the second seat of the power of Earl Roger," says Professor Freeman, "was no less than the fortress of William Peverel in the Peakland, a simple vulture's nest upon a crag." But we can now see that a fortress of this type, so admirably suited to the ground on which it is built, and so costly in the building, is quite unlike the elementary castles run up by the companions of the Conqueror. And in the immediate neighbourhood of Montgomery, more than a mile from the castle on the hill, and in the low land on the bank of the Severn, there stands a simple earthwork of the motte and bailey pattern,† which is undoubtedly the

* Carreg Cennen Castle, on the edge of a precipitous cliff in south Carmarthenshire, built in the thirteenth century by Rhys of Wales, illustrates this arrangement.

† The significance of this earthwork, known locally as the Hen Domen, was pointed out by Mr. Davies Pryce, Eng. Hist. Rev., XX, 709, 710.

humble fortress of the Conqueror's friend; the castle which was demolished by the Welsh in the rising of 1095. The Earl of Shrewsbury chose a site where a castle could be raised with the least possible expenditure of time and labour; long before he had cut the first ward out of the rock on the top of Montgomery hill, the Welsh would have been upon him. He wished for temporary security and nothing more.[†] And so, just as at Wallingford we can compare the fortress of the time of Alfred with those erected by William I., at Montgomery we can measure the advance in the art of fortification between the time of the Conqueror, and that of Henry III.[‡]

The conquest of Gwynedd by Edward I. was rendered permanent by the establishment of a ring of castles at the base of the group of mountains of which Snowdon is the chief. Aberconway and Carnarvon, on sites previously unfortified, Criccieth, and Harlech, replacing earlier Welsh

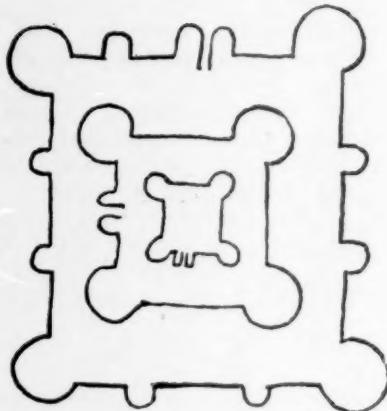
of Carnarvon Castle lay in the structure of its walls; within which, upon the face most exposed to an attack, a double gallery was constructed, commanding through loopholes the ground in front of the castle, and surmounted by a rampart, the whole defence admitting of a simultaneous triple fire upon an enemy advancing from this quarter. At Carnarvon, as in every other of the group to which it belongs, the walls were thickly set with mural towers; for the security of the Edwardian castle depended upon the strength and disposition of its walls, and in none of the great fortresses of North Wales was any keep ever constructed. Adopting the language of the twelfth century, we may say that the *castellum*, the enclosure, had come to supplant the *turris*, the keep, as the essential factor in castellation.

The activities of the age of Edward I. in the matter of castle-building were not confined to North Wales. At Corfe, Chepstow and Pevensey, there remain additions made during his reign to the defensive works of the eleventh century. At Builth, a twelfth-century motte and bailey have been converted into a castle of the concentric type by the addition of a circular rampart enclosing the whole of the earlier fortification and by the erection of further defences upon the motte. Elsewhere in this quarter, there is evidence of a desire to modify fortresses of the older type in accordance with the ideas of the thirteenth century. At Bronllys near Talgarth the motte has been crowned with a cylindrical tower of the type which has already been described. At the castle of Tretower near Crickhowell, a tower of this kind was inserted within the remains of an older rectangular keep, and it would seem that at Builth a donjon was placed upon the motte within the shell keep of the thirteenth century. But these Edwardian additions are only brought forward here in illustration of the last phase of the art of castellation in this country.

For from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, the castle steadily tends to become even a less important factor in the military organization of the country. Except in the extreme north where the constant imminence of border raids produced, in the peel towers of this district, and long maintained, a form of defensive work resembling the rectangular keeps of an earlier age, few new castles were built, and those that existed tended to fall into neglect. In 1337 Edward III. ordered his castellans of North and South Wales to put all their fortresses into a defensible condition; in 1341 the king was told that the doors of Criccieth Castle were so feeble that they could scarcely hold up against the wind. It is this neglect, rather than any improvement in methods of siegework, which accounts for the remarkable contrast between the course of events in the Baron's War, which largely turned upon the defence of such fortresses as Kenilworth and Rochester, and the details of the revolt of 1322, when the castles of Tutbury, Leeds (Kent), and Tickhill severally fell without any protracted resistance in the course of a brief campaign. The changed significance of the castle is one of the main facts which distinguish the history of the fourteenth century from that of its predecessors.

The suppression of militant feudalism represents one aspect of the process by which this change was effected. As a menace to the integrity of the realm and the authority of the crown, the baronial castle was already an anachronism when Edward I. died. The establishment of the universal jurisdiction of the king's courts, the strict inquisition into feudal franchises, the legislative activities, which distinguish the reign of Edward I., are only the more obvious signs of a permanent order, a general obedience to law, incompatible with the maintenance of strongholds in which a subject could resist the sovereign. On the other hand, it is evident that this result was greatly furthered by the changes which were coming over the art of war at this time, changes which everywhere tended to give the military advantage to the side which could put into the field, and handle effec-

THE "CONCENTRIC" OUTLINE.



strongholds, are the most famous of these fortresses, and it is in them that the art of castle-building reaches its highest point in this country. The skill with which they are designed in connection with the ground on which they stand, the excellence of their masonry, and the strategical sense which planted each castle at exactly the points which enabled it to command the widest possible area, are beyond all praise. But although the Edwardian fortresses of Wales, as regards the purpose and circumstances of their erection, form by themselves a well-defined group; there is little in common between the several ground plans on which they are respectively based. Beaumaris is purely concentric. Harlech and Rhuddlan approximate to the concentric outline as demanded by the contour of the ground; and it is no doubt significant that these three castles were each the work of the same builder, James of St. George. It may well be in conscious opposition to his ideas of castellation that Aberconway and Carnarvon were founded upon a different plan. The former consists of an irregular oblong area, divided into two wards by a line of wall drawn across its narrowest portion; the whole of Carnarvon Castle forms but a single ward, built, in accordance with the lie of the land, in a form resembling an hourglass, but in each case the defences of the town, being continuous with those of the castle, made of the former a kind of outer wards. The peculiar strength

[†] The converse process, by which a hill fortress became abandoned for a valley site is illustrated by the rise of Conway at the expense of Deganwy.

[‡] At Rhuddlan a motte, undoubtedly representing the castle held in 1086 by Robert of Rhuddlan of the Earl of Chester, stands a short distance to the south of the Edwardian fortress.

tively, the largest masses of men-at-arms. The development, under Edward I., of an infantry combining supreme efficiency in missile tactics with complete independence from the system of the feudal levy, gave to the king, the best paymaster, an advantage hardly shared by any of his individual barons.

The final passing of the medieval castle as a dominant fact in war, is generally ascribed to the introduction of gunpowder and the rise of an effective artillery. If the period between 1450 and 1650 be regarded as a whole, such a view is, no doubt, correct, otherwise it requires somewhat material qualification. The decay of the castle had already gone far by 1450. The country south of the border shires had long enjoyed immunity from civil war, and when in Wales a national rising unexpectedly broke out under Owen Glyndwr, it found the castles of the central valleys and the south ill prepared for extended resistance. To this, in great part, is due the rapidity with which Owen was enabled to reduce fortresses planned for the domination of extensive tracts of land. On the other hand, when at last in the Wars of the Roses artillery is found employed against the walls of an ancient castle, its efficiency is seen to be dependent upon somewhat stringent conditions. The reduction of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh by the aid of artillery in 1465 merely shows that where cannon could be posted within short range of a fortress unsupported by an army in the field its capture would thereby be facilitated. It had no bearing upon the defensive power of a castle under circumstances where these conditions did not prevail. The protracted resistance of Harlech in the campaign of 1474 may be set against the fall of Bamourgh. And in the early stages of the great Civil War, when once again the ancient castles of England became the centres of military operations, their capacity for resistance was still very considerable. The first phase of the war was materially affected by the fact that the defences of Nottingham Castle, though weakened by a century of neglect, closed to the royal armies the western line of the road to York; and in 1648 the walls of Pembroke Castle proved too strong for the light cannon originally at the disposal of Cromwell. The general advantage of the defensive at this time is well shown by the determined resistance made by many fortified posts of no particular strength, such as the isolated manor houses garrisoned in large numbers in the first months of the war. Despite the artillery, such as it was, at the disposal of the Parliamentary commanders, their reduction on an extended scale proved impossible so long as there existed royalist forces in the field capable of making a diversion. The bad roads of the seventeenth century seriously impaired the mobility of heavy artillery, and the earthen outworks of a castle admitted of reshaping in accordance with models derived from continental examples, as in the case of the motte of Cambridge. If it be true to say that artillery killed the medieval castle, we must add the qualification that it took some two centuries in the process.

Last among the reasons which made for the decay of the castle, though, perhaps, of higher importance than any other, were the social forces which played their part in this matter. It was certain that the extreme discomfort of life within the walls of a medieval fortress would no longer be endured when the fortress itself was ceasing to fulfill its original purpose; and in the south and east of England the older castles were rapidly altered to give opportunity for the amenities of life, at a considerable sacrifice of their defensive security. The greater castles of the Midlands, such as Warwick and Kenilworth, play no part in the military business of the Wars of the Roses; they were the residences of their lords in intervals of peace, but they were not garrisoned in time of war. And in the few English castles which were built towards the close of the Middle Ages, the evident

desire to combine effective defensive works with residences of reasonable comfort leads to results of some incongruity. The Lincolnshire castle of Tattershall, on the Witham, overlooking the fens of Kesteven and Holland, which was built by Ralf Lord Cromwell at the middle of the fifteenth century, is a good illustration of these tendencies. Of this castle, the building of which cost more than 4,000 marks, the great tower, now only a shell, and the rectangular ward beneath it, remain. The tower and the walls of the ward are composed of brickwork, excellent brickwork, it is true, but hardly possessing the intrinsic strength of the stone and rubble employed in the keeps and curtains of an earlier age. The tower is four stories high provided with large traceried windows, reproduced on a smaller scale in the four turrets which strengthen the angles of the building; the several floors of the interior were supported on massive timber balks, and the remains of large and ornate fireplaces show that the structure was designed as the permanent dwelling of its lord. Considered, on the other hand, as a defensive work, the tower contains a feature of exceptional interest in the singularly complete system of machicolation with which its roof is provided. Along the crest of the tower there runs an overhanging gallery, commanding the ground beneath through openings in its floor, provided with square-headed windows, admitting of a fire over a wider field, and surmounted by battlements. Against cannon, indeed the tower would be defenceless, for its position, surrounded by level ground on every side, gave to an attacking commander the power of placing a battery at any point which might suit his convenience, but the power of artillery had not been demonstrated against English fortresses when Lord Cromwell died at the beginning of 1456.

With Tattershall Castle this sketch of the development of the English medieval fortress may fittingly close. It remains an exceptional work for the period at which it was constructed, for when, in the fifteenth century we find a baron or knight building anew he commonly builds a hall, a manor house, rather than a castle. Social convenience was steadily triumphing over military necessity; the typical building of the fifteenth century is a fortified dwelling such as Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, or such as Lord Cromwell's other work at Wingfield in Derbyshire, itself one of the many manorhouses which stood a siege in the Civil War. For we may say, with substantial truth, that it was the decay of the castle, and of the habits of life and methods of thought which the castle implies, which gradually gave scope for the parallel development of English domestic architecture.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The literature which relates to the art of castle-building in England is of vast volume, and of many varying degrees of value. As a comprehensive survey of the whole subject, the "Medieval Military Architecture" of G. T. Clark (2 vols., London, 1884) has not yet been superseded, although large portions of the work are now obsolete. The main value of the book lies in the numerous plans with which it is illustrated; the author's views on the castles of the early Norman period show a tendency to antedate the practice of erecting fortifications in stone, and his identification of earthworks of the mound and base-court pattern with the *burhs* of pre-Conquest times can no longer be upheld. In this last matter Clark's views have been adopted by Oman, "History of the Art of War" (London, 1898). For French castles, C. Enlart's "Manuel d'Archéologie française. Architecture," Vol. II., may be studied. In recent years the most valuable contributions to this subject are associated with the name of J. H. Round and Mrs. E. Armitage. The former in his "Geoffrey de Mandeville" (London, 1892) was the first to suggest the distinction marked in early Norman times between the keep (*turris*) and the adjacent ward (*castellum*); a distinction which has had the effect of referring many rectangular keeps to a date considerably later than had previously been assigned to them. In his paper on "The Castles of the Conquest" (*Archæologia*, LVIII.) Round argued against the widely accepted

equation of *burch* and *motte*, and assigned a number of the earliest Norman Castles in England to the motte and bailey pattern. In this last matter Mrs. Armitage (*Early Norman Castles of England*, "Eng. Hist. Rev.", XIX.) by investigating in detail the several castles recorded in Domesday Book, placed the universality of the motte and bailey plan at this date beyond the range of doubt. A similar service was performed in regard to the earliest castles of Ireland by G. H. Orpen (*Mote and Bretasch Building in Ireland*, "Eng. Hist. Rev.", XXI.). For Welsh castles in general, compare A. G. Little's "*Mediaeval Wales*" (Chap. IV.). Lastly, reference must be made to the relevant sections of the "*Victoria History of the Counties of England*." In the articles dealing with ancient Earthworks, a full and well illustrated account is given of all earthworks of the motte and bailey pattern contained within each county, and the descriptions of castles included in the topographical portions of the History, will, it may be hoped, place the study of English fortification on a more secure basis than it has possessed up to the present.

SELECTION OF CASTLES.*

(1) Motte and Bailey Type:	(3) Rectangular Keeps:
Richards Castle.	Canterbury.
Ewias Harold.	Rochester.
Wigmore.	Scarborough.
Clifford.	Norham.
Clavering.	Colchester.
Ongar.	Guildford.
Stafford.	Newcastle.
Tutbury.	Knaresborough.
Eye.	Ludlow.
Pontefract.	Clun.
Tickhill.	Bridgenorth.
Dudley.	Hedingham.
Chartley.	Bramber.
Dunster.	Brough.
Montacute.	Brougham.
Leicester.	Castle Rising.
Belvoir.	Clitheroe.
Cainhoe (Bedford).	Richmond.
Castle Bytham (Lincoln).	Middleham.
Bedford.	Dover.
Berkhampstead.	Peak.
Newton (Montgomery).	Bamburgh.
Windsor.	(4) Cylindrical Keeps:
Shrewsbury.	Conisboro'.
Quatford (Salop).	Pembroke.
Whittington.	Launceston.
Wallingford.	Skenfrith.
Oxford.	Barnard Castle.
Tamworth.	Tretower.
Penwortham.	Bronllys.
Stamford.	Chilham.
Fotheringhay.	Aberystwith.
New Radnor.	(5) Thirteenth Century:
Llandovery (Carmarthen).	Aberconway.
Nevern (Pembroke).	Carnarvon.
Eardisley (Hereford).	Rhuddlan.
Kilpeck (Hereford).	Montgomery.
Okehampton.	Harlech.
Plympton.	Kidwelly.
Pleshey.	Caerphilly.
(2) Shell Keeps:	Beaumaris.
Arundel.	Whitecastle.
Berkeley.	Carreg Cennen
Carisbrooke.	(Carmarthen).
Durham.	Kilgerran (Pembroke).
Clun.	F. M. S.
Lewes.	
Lincoln.	
Tickhill.	
Totnes.	
Pickering.	
Tonbridge.	

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* The arrangement of this list is only intended to show the chief features of interest in the respective castles.

Certification of High School Teachers of History

BY PROFESSOR EDGAR DAWSON, NORMAL COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY.

Something over a year ago the American Historical Association appointed a committee to study the preparation and certification of High School Teachers of History. Since then there has been more or less activity among the history teachers of various sections of the country with a view to ascertaining what preparation it is desirable and possible to demand from those who wish to study history in secondary schools. The New England History Teachers have given one of their conventions to the subject. Virginia has a committee studying it. Statistics have been collected in California. A committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, covering the States from Texas to the Great Lakes, has been working vigorously under the leadership of Professor Paxson, of Wisconsin. In fact, I know of no section of the country which has been entirely inactive during the last year.

As a member of the committee of the American Historical Association I have been collecting information in this section, and I wish to take this occasion to thank the several hundred people who have been good enough to answer the questionnaires I have sent out. The full and vigorous answers that have come to me from school administrators, high school teachers, and college and university professors make it perfectly clear that there is no lack of interest in the subject on the part of our people of the Middle States. What I shall have to say in this paper is mainly a mosaic of the answers I have received to these questions, and I shall not intentionally express a judgment that is not supported by a majority of the best teachers in this section. I shall have to differ respectfully from some of our co-workers, who are school administrators, as to what it is possible for us to do. They come into such close relations with the tax-payers and the indifferent public that they are less optimistic than are we in our academic shades. They may also be more nearly right than we are. I am not willing to believe, however, that it is impossible to make ours a more respected and desirable profession than it is at present.

It is doubtless a fact that every occupation must be developed, if at all, by its own members. The law is made honorable by the lawyers. Medicine receives respect only as the doctor deserves and demands the consideration of the people among whom he moves,—*deserves*, because he shows by his conduct a deep interest in the work he is doing and a thorough preparation for it; demands, by preventing the advent into his profession of quacks and other dishonest or incompetent persons.

It is also true beyond much of a peradventure that the teaching of history may still be improved in the elementary school, the high school and the university. To-day, however, we are concerned especially with the work in the high school. There is no teacher who has not heard lamentations that history is so often taught by untrained teachers. Five years ago a discussion of the course of study resolved itself into its elements when Professor McLaughlin wrote "At the bottom the trouble rests . . . in the supreme difficulty in teaching history well and in the lack of preparation of the teacher. As long as it is thought that any one can teach history even if he has not studied it . . . so long will history occupy a distinguished position among the diseducational subjects." Professor McLaughlin doubtless had in mind the young person who was being examined for a license to teach.

She skipped all the history questions. When the examiner remonstrated with her for the omission she replied with astonishment, "Why I saw no use in answering them. Anybody can teach history. You have it all right there in the book before you." That sounds very ridiculous, of course, but it becomes tragic when you find school authorities and college professors who do not recognize the fundamental error in her position. We have not put ourselves to the trouble to let the public know that it is inconsistent to refuse a license to teach zoology to a candidate who cannot tell a sheep from a kangaroo, but grant permission to teach civics to one who doesn't know a veto from a referendum, and history to one who supposes, if he has ever heard of the period, that the Germanic peoples awoke one morning and said, "This is a fine day to invade the Roman Empire," and proceeded to the invasions. It has ceased to be a joke, and has become a calamity to our school children. It is time for us to cease pointing to our next neighbor, as in the famous Nash cartoon; we must accept the responsibility, and correct the erroneous notions.

One way to make a profession more useful is to demand a longer apprenticeship and a better preparation from those who enter it. A gentleman whom to know is to respect, remarks that to set up a high standard for teachers is too hard on the poor who wish to become teachers. They cannot afford to go through such long years of preparation. For him and for all of us that objection must answer itself when we turn our attention from the poor who wish to teach to the poor who wish to be taught. It is a crime to waste the years of youth in order to provide positions for incompetent grown people. That is a truism I realize, but its truth is respected most often in the violation. If we are to have more efficient history teachers we must become more inflexible in our insistence on thorough preparation before teaching begins. I hear the remark that most of us have heard. The salaries are too small. And I agree that they are, and they always will be small if the wall around the position is so low that every non-descript feels justified in essaying it. Put your standards up and instead of there being a long waiting list for every half-paid position, the place will be obliged to seek the candidate, as it should, and then we can hope for respectful recognition of the worth of those who apply.

What would be the effect if we could persuade the public that we need high school teachers as well prepared as are the teachers of France and Germany? In either country the secondary school teacher has a training equal to that of the doctor of philosophy, though of a different, and for their purpose a far better kind. The German youth, after he has graduated from the gymnasium, spends about five years in the university. He was the equal of a rising junior when he began his university course. He has on finishing it, therefore, the equivalent of three years of graduate work.

Turning from the east to the west, we find that even in remote California every high school teacher must have had a year of graduate work, and in one of her cities at least, he must have had two years of such training. Again I would remind you that this is not the common Ph.D. course, but instruction planned with secondary school work in view. Thorough preparation in the Middle States waits only on the action of those whose duty it is to attend to it, the teachers themselves, who must strengthen their profession.

Let us then outline what may reasonably be made a requirement for eligibility in this section. For the sake of clearness I wish to call attention here to the need of avoiding the position of four classes of extremists. (1) Those who are satisfied with no history, (2) and those who wish too great specializing in it; (3) those who wish no pedagogical training, and (4) those who would over emphasize it. A requirement must recognize two elements. The amount of time,

that is the opportunity, the candidate has given himself; and, the way he has spent his time, the way he has used his opportunity. In the first place as a certificate of opportunity every candidate should present the bachelor's degree. This should be the lower limit even for the small remote high schools. Of course, we all know excellent teachers who have no college degree. We all know university professors who are not college graduates, men able and renowned. But the point is, the school administrators need a rod with which to keep out the incompetent, one that is apparent to boards of education. The schools will be better off lacking the occasional genius who makes a good teacher without a college education if his coming in must leave an open gap through which follow a train of indifferent teachers. They will so enter when their friends insist to the school authorities that they are just as capable as is the genius. What other criterion can the superintendents set up in such a case? For the poorest school then, we demand the college degree; for the somewhat better schools a year of graduate work; and for the schools that pay good salaries and give the opportunity to teach only one subject, two years of graduate work should be asked. This is as much as any school should demand, and it should lead not to the doctorate, but to a broad and well-planned master's course. Now this should be demanded before the license is granted. One of the chief objections to insisting on the college degree is that it so often does not represent anything in particular. Some one has recently suggested that the symbol of the degree be changed in the interest of accuracy to B.Y., for example, Bachelor of Yale, or B.P., Bachelor of Princeton. If to this were added the year in which the degree is conferred, the description would be fairly accurate. I see no reason, however, why the candidate should not present certificates covering the courses actually completed in the college. These should be accepted by the school authorities as assurance that the work has been done, with the same confidence as should be accepted the certificates of the schools for admission to college.

This brings us to the other element of preparation. Given the time spent in college and university what courses shall be taken? First, there should be a liberal education along literary lines; second, there should be special education in history and the sciences of society; third, there should be training in what, for want of a better word, we must call pedagogy.

General education, special knowledge, practical training is what we demand. Of course we demand personality, generous nature, noble ideals, honesty, industry, loyalty, and magnetism. And we shall be told that these are more important than all the academic training. Moreover, we shall agree that they are, without the least hesitation. But all the walks of life need these, and we are differentiating the profession of history teaching from the other occupations. A person is not debarred from any of these characteristics by the fact that he has been trained for the work he expects to do. Moreover, it is almost impossible to find out whether exceptional loyalty, or honor, exist until the candidate has been teaching for some time, and then it is too late. As to the training, on the other hand, we can get fairly satisfactory certification of its character.

What then do we mean by a liberal education along literary lines, special knowledge, and practical training?

The liberal education must include a reading knowledge of two languages besides English. At this time it is unnecessary to defend this proposition. We all know the broadening influence of familiarity with new and untranslatable words, foreign ideas, the drill in accuracy that the study of the foreign forms and constructions of speech gives. We also know how difficult it is to arrive at the best use of our own language, so important for the history teacher, without some practice in the use of another. I do not men-

tion the fact the historical scholar must read discussions now and then which he cannot find in his own language.

A second element of the sort of liberal education our candidate will need is a sympathetic familiarity with the great biological generalizations and hypotheses, with which must go such knowledge of modern science as is common to all cultivated people, including the elements of physics, chemistry, geology, geography and astronomy. How can one teach the great cosmological awakening incidental to the end of the Middle Ages without knowing a little astronomy? I am not sure how this science should be administered or how its command should be tested, but it should be demanded and can be had without Herculean efforts.

A third element in this liberal education should be some of the sort of training to be derived from the study of mathematics or logic. Given the fundamentals of geometry and algebra, I am disposed to lean for the history student toward the logic, deductive and inductive, if it is well taught. There are few more enlightening experiences than a good stiff course in these two sorts of discipline. And it is a sad type of young mind which does not respond to them with alacrity; the mind to which inductive logic does not appeal should not attempt to specialize in the social sciences.

So much for the theoretical content of the liberal education. As a practical aspect of it, one should remember that high school teachers seldom find positions to teach history alone. I myself see no good reason why history and mathematics, or history and modern language, and possibly some English with either combination, is not practicable for the teacher who is properly prepared and certificated in these things. It is not unusual for the German history teacher to take classes in the German language and religion with the history. He is master of the subjects in which he is certificated, in which alone he is permitted to instruct classes. He is a wise candidate who in getting his liberal education takes up the languages or the mathematics with the view to falling back upon them if necessary. This does not reduce, but rather enhances their value as means of education, for they are undertaken with greater and more active interest.

In California, out of 316 history teachers in high schools, only 90 were last year teaching history alone. I repeat, this is not an objectionable condition, but it is depressing when we find that only five per cent. had specialized in history at College.

We turn now from the liberal education to special knowledge of history and the sciences of society. To this field the candidate should have given about one-third of his attention, possibly only thirty per cent. when his preparation is limited to the four undergraduate years. As to what should compose this major in history and the social sciences, opinions will differ widely. It must certainly contain a good strong course in economics, not necessarily in order to teach economics as a separate subject in the schools, but for proper emphasis in the teaching of history and the better education of the candidate. Of a hundred picked teachers to whom a questionnaire was sent, one-fourth answered that the greatest need they felt was for some training in this subject. The others had probably had it. There must, of course, be one *grundlegende* study of political science with stress on actual government, rather than theory; and all centered about the government of the United States. Then there should be generous study of history,—economic, political and social. The purpose of this is not the acquisition of facts, although these are far more useful and desirable than it is customary to consider them in some quarters to-day; but to make the candidate master of his field in a better sense. He must have *bibliographical knowledge, perspective, critical judgment, confidence*, and, most important of all, an interest in and an enthusiasm for the subject. He must know why he is going to teach history and have a real interest in doing

so. He must be able to deal with his subject as one having authority and not as those who copy manuscripts; one who lives in the spirit of his subject and loves it.

I quote a few reasons given by others for a fairly complete knowledge of history on the part of the candidate. "To create interest on the part of the pupil; to add to the teacher's enthusiasm; to save the energy of the teacher and to keep him fresh; to give a broader outlook to the teacher and confidence to the pupil; to give the teacher a definite purpose and point of view; to prevent mere cramming with facts, which is unintelligent savagery; to save from slavery to the text-book (which is not meant as an argument against the use of the text-book); I do not think any amount of historical knowledge counts for so much as familiarity with the way history is written and a good sense of what history itself really is." We must avoid a vicious circle of studying history in order to teach others who are studying it to teach it, and so on, world without end, to no real purpose.

A more concrete discussion of the curriculum for the history major is being prepared by a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, who hope to offer some useful suggestions to the prospective history teacher as to the division of his energy among such subjects as American history, English history, ancient, medieval and modern history, special advanced courses, seminary work, government, etc. Implied in their report will also be a suggestion as to what school authorities may best demand from the candidate when he comes up for certification.

This same report is to take up the question of pedagogical training which topic brings us to the *third element* in the content of the candidate's college course, namely, practical training. This is a painful subject. I have never heard the training of history teachers discussed in any considerable assemblage in which beneath the courteous phrases of the addresses was not discoverable on the one hand the kindly condescension in the mind of the university man for the pedagogue, and on the other the respectful pity the practical teacher has for the mere book-worm. This antagonism is disappearing somewhat; but it has not been long since one camp insisted that almost no knowledge of the subject is sufficient if only an adequate amount of pedagogy is provided, while their antagonists contended that pedagogy is mere quackery and that if a teacher knows his subject all other things come of evil. My own opinion on the matter is of less importance than that of practical teachers in the secondary schools who answer almost without exception that the candidate must have such pedagogical training. A distinguished student of conditions in this State wrote me: "The candidate should have pedagogical training and practice in college. I see so many wretched failures in high school teaching among inexperienced college graduates, that I feel there must be a general cause underlying it all, namely, the rapid development of the student mind during the college years places the college graduate entirely out of touch with the minds of the younger high school pupils. Unless the college graduates have had pedagogical training and practice, they invariably try to introduce college methods among high school pupils." That such training is eminently desirable can no longer be successfully denied, but the amount and kind to be insisted upon is more difficult to determine. I suggest the following topics in the order of increasing importance as they present themselves to me: Pedagogical psychology and theory; the history of education; the history of history teaching and its main problems; practice and observation in secondary school classes. I apologize for this superficial reference to this great and important field of work; and can only plead lack of time and want of special knowledge to provide a discussion of it that would be helpful. Some are of the opinion that this training should be kept under the guidance of the history department,

while others would turn it over bodily to the department of education. I should be disposed to divide it and bring about co-operation between the two departments; the history department keeping the development of history teaching and its special problems, and the department of pedagogy assuming responsibility for the history and theory of education. We should then come to some such summary of the course of study as the following: The candidate should present the bachelor's degree and generally a year of graduate work; he should present certificates that he has completed satisfactorily a third of the work required for the bachelor's degree in the department of history and the social sciences; he should present a reading knowledge of two foreign languages; his certificates should present a fair knowledge of science, with mathematics or logic and adequate pedagogical training,—say 12 units in the college course. The year or years of graduate work should have been done under the direction of the department of history, with secondary school work in view.

At this point I am somewhat at a loss how to proceed, for I am confident that this discussion is open to two sorts of criticism: Some will agree with most of it, and ask "What of it? I know a good many teachers with just such preparation"; others will pronounce any such program wholly chimerical, and out of the question. It is to this second class that I beg to address the remainder of what I have to say, for what we need is not some trained teachers, but to see to it that we have no other sort.

A well-informed university teacher says: "I look forward with confidence and anticipation to the time when all teachers in our country will be expected to have equipped themselves with college and university training for the pursuit of a profession which should be as learned as, and which is of far more importance to the normal life of the world than law, medicine, or divinity." If this much to be desired consummation is ever to be reached, three classes of persons must be brought to see the light: school administrators, the general public, and the colleges and universities. The school administrators must be strengthened, some sand must be added to their composition, and they must be educated. The general public must be convinced that it is as important to teach a youth at sixteen when his life is being shaped and his ideals set as to teach him at twenty-two; that it is as important to train the healthy mind as to heal the sick body or reform the crooked conscience, or do any of the other less important services for which society pays a comfortable and respected living. The colleges and universities of the East must be persuaded to follow the lead of those of the West and accept a responsible position in the system of public education, whether they happen to be privately endowed or not. If they wish candidates for admission from the public schools (as they do), they must set about to help provide the right sort of teachers for those schools in larger numbers with greater discrimination. This last class, the universities, will be the one most easily brought to do their part. They have been accustomed to plead that they could not conscientiously advise young people to prepare especially for high school work because the demand for properly prepared persons is too limited. A university professor writes me "I believe that more attention should be given to the particular problems that this class of students will afterwards be obliged to confront and solve." Another professor in the same university says, "We have not at present any special course for teachers, but I am inclined to think that if this were required as a part of the preparation for teaching history in high schools, our university would be quite ready to respond to the requirement."

One of the best of the classical colleges: "I am glad to say that next year our educational department is to be con-

siderably enlarged." This is from a member of the history department, not of the pedagogical.

With the public and the school administrators, who are the representatives of the public to a large extent, we should have more trouble, and mainly because *they do not know*. They actually have no idea whatever, what history is or why it is taught, or who can teach it. I cannot lay too much stress on that fact. Their lack of information on this subject is monumental. It is abysmal. I have no words with which to express it. Yet the condition is largely to be laid at our door, at the door of the teachers of history. We know and have not told them plainly and directly enough.

We must keep at work and in co-operation with the other associations who are working on this problem we must remove this incubus of responsibility. It may be desirable for our committee to co-operate with committees of English teachers, and language teachers, etc. But we ourselves must state our platform. Should this action be taken, I urge you to use every effort short of bribery and corruption to advance the work of that committee. The older and more conservative of my correspondents are convinced that the results of our work will be slow in coming and discouragingly small, but they nevertheless without exception urge that we begin at once. The effort will be a long and hard one, but it must be made by us at some time. They urge that we undertake it in the spirit of a crusade.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MARY W. WILLIAMS, M.A., EDITOR.

—In view of the present agitation in Ireland over Home Rule, we view with interest the article on the old capital, "Highways and Byways of Dublin," by Lindsay Crawford, which appears in the September number of the "Canadian Magazine." The illustrations are particularly attractive.

—"A Lorimer Case in Ancient Rome" is the catchy title of the description of Cicero's prosecution of Verres the Sicilian grafter as given us by Guglielmo Ferrero in "Hearst's Magazine (The World To-day)" for September.

—The table of contents of the July number of the "Iowa Journal of History and Politics" presents two articles dealing with migration to and from Iowa in the "forties": "The Diary of a Journey from the Netherlands to Pella, Iowa, in 1849," and "Emigration from Iowa to Oregon in 1843."

—"Hunting for the Capital of Australia," by Edwin E. Slosson ("The Independent," Sept. 12) tells us how the Australians have gone about the task of selecting and constructing their new capital. Among various illustrations are the three prize designs for the new city. The first prize was won by the Chicago landscape architect, Walter B. Griffin.

—When the Newdigate prize for 1912 was awarded at Oxford, it was found that it had been won by the Rhodes scholar from Massachusetts, William C. Green, whose poem represents "Richard I. before Jerusalem." The following lines indicate the nature of the theme:

"But in this land mine armies melt away,
Vanquished in victory. Wherefore, O Lord,
Dost Thou deny Thy blessing to Thy Host?"

—The article on "The Patumayo Indians" by Sir Roger Casement ("Contemporary Review" for September) becomes significant when we learn that these Indians have the customs to-day that used to be characteristic of the subjects of the Incas. The author is rather of the opinion that these natives of the upper Amazon may be the lineal descendants of those whose customs they have perpetuated.

—The character sketch of Mutsuhito the Great, which William E. Griffis has written for the September number of the "North American Review," is exceedingly favorable to that ruler perhaps being too eulogistic.

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In the September number the address of Mr. Arthur C. Millspaugh was given as Augusta, Mich. This is an error; Mr. Millspaugh's school address is Department of History, High School, Missoula, Mont.

The History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland will meet in Philadelphia on November 29 and 30, in connection with the meetings of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the same territory.

The indebtedness of THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE to the [English] Historical Association for permission to print the paper upon the "Development of the Castle in England and Wales," is hereby acknowledged. Our readers will no doubt join the editors in expressing their thanks for this privilege.

The first installment of the cutline for the study of recent European history appears in this number. The Committee of Five recommended the placing of additional emphasis upon recent history and gave cogent reasons for its views. It did not, however, present any syllabus of the subject, as the Committee of Eight had done earlier in the case of the four periods which the latter committee recommended. In the absence of adequate text-books or other apparatus dealing with this period as a unit, it has been deemed advisable by the editors of the Secondary School Department of the MAGAZINE, to devote this year to the preparation of an outline, accompanied with instructions and reference lists. It is hoped this will assist many teachers in accepting the new course. The authors of the outline, Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton and Dr. Arthur M. Wolfson, will welcome criticism of the outline, suggestions for its improvement, and, especially, accounts of the success or failure of the plan in actual class-work.

Many of the syllabi prepared by state and local committees have been tried out, in advance of publication in final form, in local schools. An excellent opportunity is afforded through the MAGAZINE of experimentation upon a national scale and under diverse conditions. Teachers who have been struggling with the course in modern history are advised to try these outlines. In many cases the outlines will help the teacher and the class; in many others the teacher and the class can suggest improvements in the outlines. Shall we not unite, editors and readers, in producing a syllabus which shall be of definitive value?

In addition to the syllabus on the modern period, it is planned to publish during the present school-year a series of papers prepared by specialists in respective branches, upon several phases of European history. These papers will be written by persons who are trained teachers as well as acknowledged scholars.

The attention of readers of THE MAGAZINE is again called to the list of topics upon secondary school history, printed in the September number. In carrying out their design to make THE MAGAZINE a clearing-house for the pedagogy of history, the editors welcome accounts of successful class work in history whether in high school, or college, or elementary school. No one group of teachers, no matter how wide their experience, can make this paper a success. It will not fulfil its mission unless it can gather the best methods and practices from all parts of the country for the use and benefit of the teacher in any one community. This can be done only by the co-operation of the readers and editors of the paper. Hence the editors are glad to receive accounts of actual class experience either in the arrangement of material, the method of presentation, or the use of libraries or other aids to history teaching.

The annual observance of Pilgrim Day, August 15, was held in Southampton, England, for the second time in August of this year. The four foundation stones of the memorial to be erected by the Pilgrim Memorial Committee were laid amid interesting ceremonies. The statement of receipts and payments shows that the necessary funds for the completion of the memorial along the modified plans which the committee has adopted, have very nearly been obtained. Two pamphlets published by the committee give accounts of the exercises of the day.

History in the Secondary School

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL, EDITOR.

Outline of Modern European History, Based Upon the Recommendations of the Committee of Five

BY DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, PH.D., AND ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, PH.D.

I. AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Position of England at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

It is with the opening of the eighteenth century that we begin to discern clearly the germs of those institutions and customs which are so closely identified with the life of the present. The overthrow of Louis XIV marks in point of time the transition from the older and more medieval conception of the absolutist state where the life and welfare of the subject were at the mercy or caprice of the despot, to the more modern eighteenth century conception of the responsibility of the state for the life and well-being of the governed forcing even the autocrat to regard himself as merely the "first servant of the state." France had been and still was the typical state of the old régime, and in the opening years of the century still served as the model for many of her neighbors. She had become the recognized leader of Europe through the labors of a succession of great figures stretching over the entire seventeenth century and on into the first decade of the eighteenth. The period of her decline had now begun, and she gives way gradually to other states and to other influences which were slowly but potently leading mankind toward higher goals and a grander consummation. French ideas and ideals were ultimately to give way to English—and it is to England that we naturally look at the outset of our study that we may realize what these ideals were and how they had been attained. Although England was far in advance of the continent in constitutional development, her insular position and a combination of circumstances,—not the least of which was the change of dynasty in 1715—prevented her from assuming that place of leadership to which she was rightfully entitled. It is only as the century wears on and approaches its close that her ideas become the common property of her continental neighbors and her system is consciously and zealously imitated.

The period from 1603 to 1715 witnessed many changes in the history of the English people. From some points of view they might have been regarded as the most unstable and fickle of races, but out of this apparent confusion finally issued the framework of the British constitution. The sign manual of the change which had been undergone was a sovereign parliament. The great civil war placed parliament on a level with the monarch as a co-ordinate part of the government, not to be dismissed or thrown aside when it suited the pleasure of the autocrat; the revolution of 1688 went a step farther and placed it above the Crown as the ultimate source of the power wielded by the monarch. The perfection of the machinery of parliamentary government and the admission to this sovereign body of representatives of *all* the people were the tasks which confronted the statesmen of the new era. To understand the government of England in the opening years of the eighteenth century the student should study the dynastic changes, especially as they influenced the development of parties and the cabinet. It was this parliamentary system which was the envy and admiration of the more enlightened statesmen of the continent throughout the following century.

England had also won an enviable place among the nations by her prowess on the sea which was especially in evidence in the conflicts with Holland and France, and by the zealous furtherance of her colonial and commercial interests.

Influence of France and French Ideas.

Contrasting markedly with England in the opening years of the century was her former enemy across the water. The divine right theory of government, rejected on this side of the Channel was still the most potent fact in connection with her governmental system. With all the evils of the system, however, France was still the most progressive state on the continent and the formidable rival of England in her claims to leadership. Although the checks sustained by Louis XIV and the weakness of his immediate successors resulted in French diplomacy carrying less weight in the councils of Europe, the French people were everywhere recognized as the social and intellectual peers of Europe. Europe still acknowledged the potency of the word French.

Appearance of New States.

By the time this new century opens new powers have appeared to dispute the sway of the old and to lay the foundations of their present greatness and influence. While Louis XIV was still at the height of his power, Peter the Great was dragging Russia from her Eastern isolation and seclusion and drawing at the same time to her ruin his powerful rival, Sweden, who from this time forward instead of shaping European policies is moulded and shaped by her neighbors. The question of the total disappearance of another state had already been raised; Poland's doom was already forecast. Prussia had also become an important factor among the nations, thanks to the labors of the House of Hohenzollern and the Great Elector. Now under the guidance of Frederick the Great, and in pursuance of further schemes of aggrandizement, she was about to plunge Europe into struggles whose echoes were to be heard in the remotest corners of the earth. Spain, too, and Holland, are passive agents in the hands of their stronger neighbors. This situation is explained in the case of Holland by the blows which had been struck at her commerce in the seventeenth century and the decline of her navy which followed her close dependence upon England in the struggle with Louis XIV. Spain's impotence dates farther back to the defeat of the Armada, and the War of the Spanish Succession was only additional evidence of her elimination as a real force in European politics. The schemes of Alberoni, instead of improving her position, rendered her still weaker by his utter disregard of her internal condition.

The New Ideas and Their Influence.

The real interest in eighteenth century Europe lies in the new ideas which took hold of men and the struggle which ensued between the old and the new, bringing Europe at the end of the century face to face with the specter of revolution. Eighteenth century Europe became a great melting pot of ideas out of which was to issue a new civilization. Belief in absolutism and religious intolerance were marked characteristic of the seventeenth century. In the realm of ideas the interest of the thinkers or so-called philosophers was confined principally to metaphysics and psychology. Although their investigations anticipate modern scientific method they do not venture into the realm of politics and government. On the contrary, they insisted that the affairs of government were the special prerogative and concern of those who were charged with governing. Although a slight beginning was made in France, it was in England particularly that the attention of thoughtful men was now directed to man in his relations with government. This was in part at least the result of English development. The ideas of a Locke as to the relation of church and state and individual liberty were enthusiastically caught up on the continent, especially in France, and Voltaire and the French literary men became the media through which these ideas were presented to all Europe. This was done with all the attractiveness and charm of which they were capable. Europe became imbued with the new philosophy. The activities of the so-called enlightened despots are all directed toward placing these ideas in practice. These rulers propounded a new theory of government "that the sovereign is only the head of the state; he has not the right to spend the money from the taxes for his own personal pleasure; he should employ it in useful works; he has not the right to give the offices to his favorites, he should give them to intelligent and honest men who will look upon themselves as servants of the state." (Seignobos, "Contemporary Civilization," p. 76.) These despots, however, had no sympathy with the idea of popular government, nor were they in any sense believers in the sovereignty of the people. Nevertheless, they did much to hasten the disappearance of many a vestige of tyranny and oppression and mark the transition from medieval to modern standards of living. Inasmuch as these reforms could only be effected through a well-organized administrative system and expert administrators, the period marks the establishment of those bureaucratic systems which are still the distinguishing characteristics of continental Europe. The English people had already made too much progress

toward constitutional liberty to place themselves under the sway of a single will, however much he might have the welfare of his subjects at heart; the rulers of France were too weak and vacillating to ever place these reforms in operation. The development of these two countries, therefore, partakes of that individualistic character which has already been emphasized until modified by the economic and social revolutions of the end of the century.

The following outlines have been worked out in accordance with these ideas. An endeavor has been made to strike at the outset the keynote of our modern civilization and to ascertain the origin of those social, economic and political forces which have given us our modern industrial and political order. It has seemed best to deal with the economic development of Europe in connection with the commercial rivalry which fills so large a place in the annals of the century. This aspect of the eighteenth century will therefore be considered in the next installment of these outlines.

I. Supremacy of Parliament and Establishment of Constitutional Government in England.

1. The Great Civil War and its consequences.
2. The Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights.
3. The change of dynasty and its effects.
 - a. Growth of the Cabinet—Walpole.
 - b. Development of the party system of government.
4. The English system of government.
 - a. The king.
 - b. The cabinet.
 - c. Parliament: composition and powers.
 - d. The Church—The Toleration Act.
5. Influence of England on the continent.
 - a. The English political system.
 - b. Struggle with Louis XIV.

II. The Establishment of Absolutism in France and the Decline of French Prestige in Europe.

1. The Divine Right Theory of government as applied in France.
 - a. The position of the king—patronage of art and literature.
 - b. The army—Louvois; Vauban.
 - c. The Court.
 - d. The Church.
 - e. Social classes.
2. The influence of French ideas and French culture.
 - a. On art.
 - b. On literature.
3. The downfall of Louis XIV and its effects upon Europe.

III. The Appearance of New European Powers and the Passing of Old States.

1. Rise of Russia and decay of Sweden.
 - a. Modernization of Russia by Peter the Great.
 - (1) Military and naval reforms.
 - (2) Reforms in the administration—struggle with the nobles.
 - (3) Reforms in the Church.
 - (4) Introduction of Western customs.
 - b. Overthrow of Charles XII—Pultawa, 1709.
 - c. Russia's position in Europe—Question of Poland.
2. Rise of Prussia.
 - a. The Prussian system of government.
 - b. Expansion of Prussia in Europe to 1740.
3. The passing of Holland.
 - a. Sources of her power in the seventeenth century.
 - b. Wars with England and effects on her position in Europe.
 - (1) The Navigation Acts.
 - (2) Loss of New Netherlands.
4. The decay of Spain.
 - a. Effects of War of Spanish Succession.
 - b. European interests of Alberoni.

IV. The Reform Movement of the Eighteenth Century.

1. The old ideas.
 - a. Seventeenth century interest in psychology and metaphysics.
 - b. Belief in absolutism.
 - c. Religious intolerance.
2. The new ideas.
 - a. John Locke.
 - (1) Letters on Tolerance.

- (2) Essay upon Civil Government.
- b. The French philosophers and publicists. (Voltaire, Montesquieu.)
- (1) Influence of Locke.
- (2) Demands for religious and political reform
 - (a) Voltaire's Letters to the English and Philosophical Dictionary.
 - (b) Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws.
3. The enlightened despots and their reforms.
 - a. Their ideas of a ruler's duty.
 - b. The nature of their task—social and economic conditions on the continent.
 - (1) Survivals of feudalism.
 - (2) Legal abuses.
 - (3) Intellectual torpor.
 - (4) Power of the Church—the Jesuits.
 - c. Their reforms.
 - (1) Reforms in the feudal system.
 - (a) Abolition of serfdom in Denmark.
 - (b) Abolition of slavery in Portugal.
 - (2) Law and justice.
 - (a) Influence of Beccaria.
 - (b) Abolition of torture.
 - (c) Codification of the law—Frederick the Great.
 - (3) Public Works.
 - (a) Road-making.
 - (b) Harbor improvement.
 - (4) Education.
 - (a) Primary education.
 - (b) Founding of the learned academies.
 - (c) Universities.
 - (5) Freedom of the press.
 - (6) Toleration—Catherine II; Joseph II.
 - d. Effects of their work.
 - (1) European bureaucracies.
 - (2) Transition from medieval to modern society.

REFERENCES.

Hassall, in Chapter I, of the "Balance of Power," summarizes the opening years of the century, calling attention to the various lines of development which characterize the period. English constitutional development has been summarized by Seignobos in his "Medieval and Modern Civilization," pp. 387-399, and by Robinson in his "Western Europe," Chapter XXX. The teacher will find Oman, "England under the Stuarts," and Robertson, "England under the Hanoverians," very helpful in placing English events in their proper perspective, particularly the introduction to each volume.

Plenty of material may be found on Louis XIV and his age. Attention is directed to the bibliography contained in the article on "Louis XIV and His Age" in the MAGAZINE of February, 1911. Mention should also be made here of Johnson, "Age of the Enlightened Despot," Chapters I, II; Adams, "Growth of the French Nation," Chapter XIII; Voltaire, "Age of Louis XIV, Vol. II, Chapters XXIX-XXXIV, and Duruy, "History of France," Chapters L, LIII, LIV.

Considerable material is available in the standard histories on Russia and Prussia and the status of the minor European States. Seignobos, "Contemporary Civilization," Chapter I, is especially suggestive. To this may be added Johnson, "Enlightened Despot," Chapter IV; Robinson and Beard, "Development of Modern Europe," Vol. I, Chapter IV; Robinson, "Europe," Chapter XXXII, and Bain, "Pupils of Peter the Great," Chapters I, II.

Seignobos, "Contemporary Civilization," Chapter III, will serve as an excellent introduction to the reform movement of the century, and the changes which it entailed. This should be supplemented by such accounts as are to be found in Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, Chapters VIII-X, the introduction to Stephens, "Revolutionary Europe," and Ducoudray, "History of Modern Civilization," Chapters XII-XIII. The following books should prove helpful in forming an estimate of the work done by the writers: Grant, "French Monarchy," Vol. II, Chapter XX; Mathews, "French Revolution," Chapter V; Lowell, "Eve of the French Revolution," Chapters V, X; Adams, "French Nation," pp. 268-271, and Sorel, "Montesquieu." The work of the typical enlightened despot is illustrated in the career of Joseph II. The life of the emperor by Bright is very readable as is also the account of his work in Johnson, "Enlightened Despot," Chapter X.

History in the Normal and Elementary School

CARL E. PRAY, EDITOR.

A Lesson Plan on European Conditions Which Made Possible the Discovery of America

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I. THE RENAISSANCE, 1300-1500.

1. We begin with a short review of the effects of the Crusades: love of travel, growth of liberty, commerce, and learning among Europeans.

2. The next step is one effect of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453: the flight of the Greek scholars with their precious manuscripts to Italy. Lead the pupils to see how these learned Greeks influenced the Italians to make a systematic study of Greek literature; how a passionate desire for the old Greek literature, philosophy, art, and science, animated men's minds and led to a diligent search for priceless manuscripts, which were copied and recopied and thus saved from destruction.

3. Explain the term Renaissance, new birth, and give a simple illustration, like the blossoming of the lilac bush in the spring after the long sleep of winter, to show this new spirit of interest which had come to Europeans during the fifteenth century.

4. Illustrative material: manuscripts; reproductions of the paintings and sculpture of the period from the public library.

5. Teachers' references.

Seignobos, "History of Mediæval and of Modern Civilization," Chapter XIX.

Symonds, "Renaissance in Italy."

Hollings, "Six Ages of European History," Vol. IV, Chapter XXII.

For further references see "Outline of Mediæval and Modern History," by the New England History Teachers' Association.

6. Pupils' references.

Niver, "Great Names and Nations, Modern," pp. 134, 135.

Tappan, "European Hero Stories," pp. 152-170.

Haaren and Poland, "Famous Men of the Middle Ages," pp. 257-262.

Kemp, "History for Graded and District Schools," pp. 329-346.

Conway, "Children's Book of Art," Chapters 5-7.

Bourne and Benton, "Introductory American History."

II. THE INVENTION OF PRINTING, 1450.

1. Manuscripts: Review method of making books before printing was invented. Picture the monks in the monasteries slowly and laboriously copying by hand on parchment and adorning the pages with beautifully illuminated capitals. Borrow some manuscripts from the public library and show to the pupils. Ask the class to decide as to the number and cost of books at that time, and the consequent effect upon the spread of knowledge.

2. Block Printing: Explain how the early printers used a block of wood upon which they carved raised letters or pictures. The design was covered with ink. Then the printer could transfer it by hand pressure to a sheet. The Chinese still use this method. An example of this style may be seen on the paper (printed only on one side) which covers every chest of tea. Show the advantages of block printing over the manuscripts. Let the pupils see the disadvantage, that each new page meant the engraving of new plank, so a more practical way was sought.

3. Printing with Movable Metal Types: Separate letters which could be put together as desired were then tried, but wooden letters proving useless, a German named Gutenberg invented leaden types in 1450. His first book printed in this way was the Bible. The Dutch hold that one Coster, of Haarlen, used metal types before this date, but it is certain that Gutenberg put this new art on a firm basis, for it was from Germany that printing spread rapidly into Italy and then into all the countries of Western Europe. Help the students to see that all inventions are of slow growth and from rude beginnings; that one man improves upon another's work, until finally the invention is made practical.

4. Caxton and his Introduction of the Printing Press into England. This topic may be presented to the class in the form of an oral thesis, by a pupil previously selected by the teacher and given certain definite references from which to obtain his material, such as Philip's "Historical Reader," III, pp. 171-174; Mowry's "First Steps in History of England," pp. 148, 149; or any good biography in school or public library.

5. Invention of Paper: Let the pupils review some of the different materials which man has used in times past for the preserva-

tion of his thoughts: rock, clay, papyrus, waxen tablets, vellum or parchment, and paper, and just at the time when the printing press was invented, paper made of cotton and linen rags became a cheap and abundant material for its work.

6. Effects of the Invention of Printing: Lead the students to the following conclusions by questions. Number of books greatly increased, while the cost of books greatly decreased. All classes of people could now satisfy their keen desires for all kinds of knowledge, thus broadening and strengthening the Renaissance. Through the Renaissance and the printing press, men gradually gained independence in thought, which finally resulted in freedom in religion, free schools and libraries, and a free press not only in Europe, but in our own country many years later. (The first printing press in North America was put up in Cambridge, Mass., 1638.) Therefore printing is one of the greatest inventions of man.

7. Illustrative Material: Pictures of Gutenberg's rude press; of Edward IV's visit to Caxton's printing shop at the sign of the "Red Pale"; of Franklin and his printing press. Old books such as the New England Primer are contrasted with the splendidly bound and finely illustrated books of to-day. Copies of early newspapers and magazines are contrasted with those of the present time.

The class visits a modern printing press to see the wonderful machinery which prints, cuts, folds, and counts, the newspaper of to-day. A written report is made to the teacher. Small groups of students may visit a paper mill, or a bookbinder's shop and report to the class.

8. Teachers' References.

Putnam, "Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages,"

Vol I. The making of books in monasteries and universities; the invention of printing. Volume II. Caxton's introduction of printing into England. Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Typography."

9. Pupils' References.

Seignobos, pp. 237, 238.

Kemp, "History for Graded and District Schools," pp. 115, 116.

Chase and Clow, "Stories of Industries," Vol. II.

Buckley, "Short History of Natural Science," Ch. VII.

Towle, "Heroes and Martyrs of Invention," Chs. II and III.

Baldwin, "Thirty Famous Stories Retold," pp. 40-49.

Haaren and Poland, "Famous Men of the Middle Ages," pp. 257-262.

III. THE INVENTION OF GUNPOWDER.

1. Composition: A mixture of charcoal, sulphur, and a white powder called saltpeter, which explodes when rammed into a tight place and set on fire.

2. Origin and Development: Like printing, gunpowder was known first by the Chinese, but they used it only for fireworks. The Arabs improved gunpowder, making it throw stones through a tube. Returning Crusaders probably introduced gunpowder into Europe, and from them Roger Bacon may have learned the recipe. Froissart speaks of the rude cannon used in the Hundred Years' War in such a way that one sees the aim at that time to be noise and confusion rather than destruction. Slowly, but surely, however, artillery became dangerous in the sixteenth century, and firearms in the seventeenth century.

3. Effects: Lead the students to tell you that gunpowder revolutionized warfare and caused the downfall of feudalism, because artillery shattered the massive walls of the lord's great castle and a lord without a castle was powerless.

Since only kings had a sufficient wealth to keep troops of artillery, absolute monarchies arose. Then, too, a yeoman with a gun could kill the noble knight in armor. Thus, for the first time the common man had a means of forcing justice and even freedom from his lord. Later, during the period of discovery pupils will see that the possession of firearms by the Europeans enabled them to conquer savage tribes of both east and west.

4. Illustrative Material: Pictures of knights clad in armor, peasants with crossbow, the great castle withstanding easily the attacks of ram and bore; pictures of the rude cannon and heavy firearms to show how quickly the castle crumbled under their

withering fire. Pictures of the great modern guns on our big battleships show the development from the crude weapons.

5. Teachers' References.

Encyclopedia Britannica.
Seignobos, pp. 235, 236.
Kemp Outline, p. 116.

6. Pupils' References.

Atkinson, "European Beginnings of American History," pp. 272-274.

Kemp, "History for Graded Schools," pp. 344-346.

Tappan, "England's Story," p. 109, III.

Guerber, "Story of the English," pp. 128, 155.

Baldwin, "Thirty More Famous Stories Retold," pp. 67-81.

IV. AIDS TO NAVIGATION: MARINERS' COMPASS; ASTROLABE; IMPROVED MAPS AND CHARTS.

1. The Invention of the Mariner's Compass: The lack of instruments for ocean navigation had obliged seamen to hug the shores of the Mediterranean until in the thirteenth century there was invented a wonderful instrument by which adventurous men could sail away on unknown waters and return in safety. How did it come about. It is said that the Chinese found that the lodestone or natural magnet had the power to attract iron, and that the Arabs knew of this mysterious power. The true inventor, whoever he was, first observed that a needle rubbed by the magnet points to the north. Gioja, a native of Amalfi, Italy, experimented with this magnetized needle and found that by placing it on a straw or cork and floating it in a basin of water it would always turn to the north. Then he fastened a card on the piece of cork and floated it. Whichever way he turned the basin, the needle carried the card around until the north of the needle pointed to the north. For convenience he placed the needle on a pivot so it could swing easily, protected it with a box and connected it with a round card marked with the thirty-two points of the compass. As the King of Naples of that time belonged to the royalty of France, Gioja marked the north point of the needle with a fleur-de-lys in his honor and the compasses of all nations still bear this sign.

Even when the invention was made practical its use grew slowly because of the superstition of the sailors. Read to the class Latini's letter written to a friend when Latini was visiting Roger Bacon; Fiske's "Discovery of America," I, pp. 314, 315; or Beazley's "Prince Henry the Navigator," p. 166. By the last days of the thirteenth century the compass was in general use among Italian sailors.

What service did the compass perform? Mariners could find their bearings day or night, in all weather, out of sight of land. Since to-day it is the only means of keeping a vessel continually on her course the compass is constructed with the greatest care, and the compass-box is so mounted that it will remain level when the ship rolls. The compass is the very eye of the ship. "Do not speak to the man at the wheel." Why?

2. The Astrolabe: An instrument by means of which sailors measured the height of the sun above the horizon at noon and could thus tell the distance of the ship from the equator. Like the compass, it is still in use on all ships at the present time, but has been greatly improved, and is now called the sextant.

3. Maps and Charts; Mariners of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries began to question the fantastic maps of the ancient geographers. Prince Henry, the Navigator, established a school for seamen where he taught them to sail ships and to make maps and charts of the coasts along which their vessels sailed. The Genoese navigators also engaged in the work of charting the Mediterranean coast.

The compass and the astrolabe, together with these improved maps and charts, made mariners feel a safety which they had never felt before. With this feeling of safety there came gradually the courage to sail out upon the dreadful "Sea of Darkness." See Cheyney, "European Background of American History," Chapters III, IV, and for the pupils, Barnes' "Studies in American History," pp. 3-18.

4. Illustrative Material: Ask the pupils to bring compasses and magnets into the class for study; let them try the experiment of making for themselves a simple compass like the earliest ones. They prepare a basin of water, magnetize a needle, let it float on the water by means of a straw; or, better, by drawing the needle between the fingers upon which has been placed a drop of oil (the oil will sustain the needle); they find whichever way the bowl is

turned, the needle will always point north. Let the "Boy Scouts" relate their experiences with the compass when on their "hikes." Perhaps some scout can "box the compass," i. e., recite the names of the thirty-two points of the compass.

5. Teachers' References.

Accounts in good encyclopedias and in such geographies as Redway's "Elementary Physical Geography," p. 276, and Gilbert and Brigham's "Introduction to Physical Geography," pp. 274, 275.

6. Pupils' References.

Parton's "Triumphs of Science," p. 145.

Buckley's "Short History of Natural Science," Chapter VIII. Redway, p. 286, the Ritchie compass; the English compass, and effect of steel vessels on compass.

V. THE SEARCH FOR NEW TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST.

1. The Crusades caused a great commerce with Asia because Europe demanded the precious spices and other rich products of the East. Venice and Genoa were the commercial cities controlling the main routes of trade. (Trace routes from map on blackboard.) The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 closed up these trade routes. So adventurous men sought new routes to the East, for this Indian trade was the prize of the world.

2. Under the leadership of Prince Henry, the Navigator, the Portuguese tried to find the East by sailing southward around Africa. In 1497 Vasco Da Gama reached the goal. Thus Portugal was the first country to find a new route to the riches of India.

3. In the meantime the question of finding a direct route arose. Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, and a great student of geography and navigation, believing the earth to be round, proposed sailing westward across the "Sea of Darkness" to find the East. In 1492 he set forth to prove his theory. He did not find India as, he supposed. He found a new world!

4. Illustrative Material: Pictures of Prince Henry, Da Gama, Isabella, and Columbus; of Venice and Genoa; of the ships of Columbus.

5. Teachers' References.

Cheyney, "European Background of American History," Chapters I, II.

Fiske, "Discovery of America," I, pp. 272-446.

Beazley, "Henry, the Navigator," Chapters VII, X, XX.

6. Pupils' References.

Any of the school histories of the United States: Channing, Hart, McLaughlin and Van Tyne, Gordy or Elson.

Old South Leaflets, No. 30, 32.

Lawler, "Columbus and Magellan," Chapters I, II.

Tappan, "England's Story: Why England Did not Discover America," p. 160.

VI. SUMMARY: Now clinch what has been taught by having the pupils state a condition and show how it led to discovery.

1. When Columbus returned to Europe, men's minds were prepared through the influence of the Renaissance to receive with eager interest his marvellous tales of strange, new lands.

2. By means of the printing press, news of the early discoveries was spread broadcast over Europe, and soon a great race for possession was begun by the leading nations of Europe.

3. The invention of nautical instruments, such as the compass, made it possible for sailors to go out upon the trackless ocean and return in safety after discovering new lands. Then came the exploration and colonization of these lands.

4. The invention of gunpowder made an easy conquest of the natives of America and the savages of the East Indies.

5. The lure of vast wealth led men to search for new trade routes to the Indies, and while Columbus was trying to find a short westward route, he accidentally discovered America. This great event marks the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Era.

In this series of lessons the method is largely oral presentation by the teacher, who, however, always leads her pupils to draw their own conclusions after the facts have been given. The pupils' collateral reading is tested by oral reports to the class.

The time required to teach this subject will vary from three to five periods of forty minutes, each according to the amount of work in history which the class has had as preparation for this subject.

Bibliography and History and Civics

PREPARED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, WAYLAND J. CHASE, THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, CHAIRMAN.

JOHNSTON, R. M. *The Holy Christian Church from Its Remote Origins to the Present Day.* Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co. Pp. xx, 331. \$1.50 net.

This work is designed by the author for the general reader who has no time or inclination to make thorough special investigations in any one period of the numerous centuries covered in his survey. "The object of this book is chiefly to attempt coordination, to seize the proportions, the relations, the movement, the essential facts of Christianity as seen over a period of more than two thousand years, over nations that stretch from Kashmir to California, over civilizations as wide apart as those of the Age of Pericles and of Napoleon, of Gnosticism and the Trusts."

The author begins with a survey of Greek and Roman thought before Christ and its influences. Next he traces the evolution of the Jewish religion down to the time of Christ in two chapters. Then follow four chapters dealing with Jesus, Paul, and the history of Christianity from 70 to 312 A.D. Here the author takes especial pains to show the evolution of many Christian doctrines and practices from those of other oriental religions of earlier origin. He treats these problems rationally, clearly, and sympathetically, and sets forth much interesting information not generally known even to thinking Christian believers. The next three chapters cover the history of Christianity from the conversion of Constantine through the early middle ages and show clearly the tremendous influence of paganism, Roman customs, and the Roman law on the doctrines and practices of the medieval Catholic Church. Two chapters more give an estimate of the Roman Church in the middle ages. Twelve of the sixteen chapters in two hundred twenty-one pages thus carry the narrative only up to the Renaissance. The remaining four chapters are somewhat more hurried and will probably be less satisfactory to the general reader who has not read the details of narrative history recently. But this as well as the earlier portion of the book contains many clever characterizations which will delight mature readers. The author's generalizations are often rather broad for absolute historical accuracy and occasionally errors of fact have crept in. It was not Innocent III. who excommunicated Frederick II. so many times (page 215). But such slight errors do not prevent the book from fulfilling its purpose. It is not light reading, but teachers of history will find it very suggestive and stimulating and should read it. It is wholly unsuited to any high school students except a very few of exceptional maturity.

Clarence Perkins.

MACMILLAN, DONALD. *A Short History of the Scottish People.* New York and London, Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xx, 484. \$3.00.

LANG, ANDREW. *A Short History of Scotland.* New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. Pp. 344. \$2.00.

One of the weak points in the teaching of English history in the past has been that, in matters of general British interest, the English view point is the only one presented. It is clear, however, that on subjects like the wars with Bruce, the conflicts between the Tudors and the Stuarts, the Bishops' wars, the union of 1707, the risings of '15 and '45, to mention only the more important, it might be worth while to see how the facts are treated by Scotch historians. Unfortunately, good single volume histories of Scotland have been rare; the writer can recall P. Hume Brown's volume only. But among the books of the present year there are two "Short Histories," those of Macmillan and Lang, that will prove very useful to both teacher and pupil. Andrew Lang's volume is a condensation of his larger history; it has the advantage of being the work of a great literary artist and a fairly reliable, though not always impartial, historian. Particularly full is Lang's account of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Macmillan's history is less a political narrative and more a story of national growth: the author devotes nearly half of his book to the middle ages, while Lang gives only one-fourth of a smaller volume to that period. Dr. Macmillan also shows more sympathy for the reformation movement in Scotland than does Andrew Lang, who was never able (and never wished) to conceal his contempt for Knox and the "preachers." Both writers practically close their histories with the failure of '45, though

Macmillan has added a brief but suggestive chapter on modern Scotland. Each volume has its own good points, but it is likely that Macmillan's work, as the less detailed and more descriptive of the two, will be found the more satisfactory for supplementary reading.

Lawrence M. Larson.

ANDREWS, CHARLES M. *The Colonial Period.* (Home University Library). New York. Henry Holt & Co. Pp. vii, 256. 50 cents.

The plan of the author is to illuminate colonial conditions between 1607 and 1765 by depicting for the reader on a scale relatively much larger than usual, those aspects of the times in the mother country that had to do with the inception of the colonies and their administration, especially British theories of trade and of colonial relations and the governmental machinery for the direction and control of colonial affairs; and his treatment includes the colonies of Canada and the West Indies as well as the thirteen on our seaboard. The military side of the subject is purposely neglected and the social has but slight emphasis, but the economic and political receive very full and careful treatment. Especially valuable are the sketches of the colonial governments, of British machinery for colonial administration and of the development of colonial independence in important essentials before 1765. It is the most scholarly book of its size in this field of American history and is a definite contribution both to this series of books and to the literature on the colonial period. For the most part it is not too advanced for high school pupils, and it will enrich the library of every teacher of American history.

Wayland J. Chase.

MASTERMAN, J. HOWARD B. *A History of the British Constitution.* London, Macmillan & Co. Pp. x, 291. 80 cents.

This book promises to be a very useful addition to the library equipment of the high school teacher of English history. Both in compass, plan, and contents it is a notable improvement on the older books that have been used to supplement the text book on the constitutional side. Though brief and concise, it contains a great deal of useful, pertinent, and well chosen information. The plan of the work is chronological rather than topical, which fact makes it easier for the teacher to make satisfactory assignments. Of particular interest and value are the last eight chapters of the book which deal with such important but frequently neglected subjects as party organizations, the cabinet, the government of the colonies, English local government, recent changes in parliament, and the established church. Unfortunately the work is not wholly free from errors, but these usually relate to details of slight importance only. The book is greatly in need of revision, but even in its present form it will prove very serviceable, as the author has succeeded in finding the salient facts of English constitutional development, and has presented these in a clear and forceful manner.

Laurence M. Larson.

HAWORTH, PAUL LELAND. *Reconstruction and Union.* New York. Henry Holt & Co. Pp. 251. 50 cents.

This little volume, No. 39 of the Home University Library, takes up the narrative of events where Paxson's "Civil War" dropped it, and includes a wider range of time than its title clearly implies, for it covers the interval from 1865 to 1912. Here is a period so much a part of the present that even the earliest echoes of its conflicts have not died away and it is admittedly difficult to treat dispassionately and judicially. But the only passion the author shows is that for civic righteousness and good government. This seems to have led him to neither misinterpretation nor misrepresentation of facts, though it doubtless has contributed to his vigor of expression and to his choice of the chapter headings—"The Golden Age of Materialism" and "The Revolt Against Plutocracy."

The summaries of administrations are comprehensive and informing, the explanations of policies are lucid and the characterizations of men are clear cut. There is a "go" to the narrative, too, so that the reader's interest is well sustained. Teachers will find the book helpful for themselves and well adapted for supplementary reading for high school pupils in a field in which it is at present probably the best available material.

Wayland J. Chase.

HERBERT, HILARY A. *The Abolition Crusade and its Consequences.* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xiv. 249. \$1.00.

The book is a product of the study of the experiences of a richly varied life and is a conclusion from observed events rather than from reported facts. The author was born and reared a southerner, the son of slaveholding parent, served throughout the Civil War in the Confederate Army, was for sixteen years from 1877 a member of Congress from Alabama, and was Secretary of the Navy in Cleveland's second administration. Unquestionably here is an exceptionally close contact with the problems of which he writes and a most excellent training for the consideration of them. His thesis is that it was not the cotton gin that reconciled the South to slavery, but the abolition societies begun by Garrison. It was these that by their methods and defiance of the constitution shut off discussion in the South about the rightfulness of slavery, and, rousing fears and passions, developed sectionalism and resulted in secession and war. He tells the story of this great sectional movement from 1831 to the close of the period of reconstruction, devoting much the larger space to the period of causation, 1831-60, and closing with a brief chapter on the South since 1876. There is a prefatory note by James Ford Rhodes, who says he finds the book pervaded by practical knowledge and candor and entitled to a large hearing. His endorsement should attract both students and teachers of American history to this work.

Wayland J. Chase.

LIST OF BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM AUGUST 31 TO SEPTEMBER 28, 1912.

American History.

Bacon-Foster, Corra. *Early chapters in the development of the Potomac route to the West.* Washington, D. C.: Columbia Hist. Soc. 277 pp. \$2.00.
 Bogart, Ernest L. *Financial History of Ohio.* Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois. 358 pp. \$1.80.
 Kilpatrick, William H. *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 239 pp. [3 pp. bibl.].
 Miller, John R. *Odds and Ends of Cumberland County, (Penn.) History.* Carlisle, Pa.: The Author. 27 pp. Gratis.
 Morse, Edwin W. *Causes and Effects in American History.* New York: Scribner. 302 pp. \$1.25 net.
 Nelson, Thomas F. *Report on the Chalkley MSS.* Washington, D. C.: The Author. 24 pp. Gratis.
 Niles, Grace G. *The Hoosac Valley, its Legend and its History.* New York: Putnam. 584 pp. \$3.50 net.
 Olbrich, Emil. *The Development of Sentiment on Negro Suffrage to 1860.* Milwaukee, Wis.: University of Wisconsin. 135 pp. [6½ pp. bibl.]. 25c.
 Saunders, Charles F. *The Indians of the Terraced Houses.* New York: Putnam. 293 pp. [5p. bibl.]. \$2.50 net.
 Taylor, Hannis. *The real Authorship of the Constitution Explained.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 87 pp.
 Twitchell, Horace E. *History of the Minesink Country.* New York: Schilling Press. 207 pp. \$1.50.
 United States. *Checklist of United States Public Documents.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
 Van der Zee, Jacob. *The Hollanders of Iowa.* Iowa City, Ia.: State Hist. Soc. 453 pp. \$3.00 net.
 Walton, Perry. *Devonshire Street [Boston]; a collection of facts and incidents.* Boston: Second National Bank. 47 pp. Gratis.
 Ware, Horace E. *The Transfer to Massachusetts of its Charter Government, 1630.* Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson & Son. 23 pp. Gratis.
 Williams, Meade C. *Early Mackinac: A Sketch Historical and Descriptive.* (rev. ed.). New York: Duffield. 184 pp. \$1.00 net.

Ancient History.

Davis, William S. *Readings in Ancient History.* [source-book]. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 375 pp. \$1.00.
 Griffith, Francis L. *Karanog; the Meriotic Inscriptions of Shabti and Karanog.* Philadelphia, University of Penna. 181 pp. \$10.00.
 Macalister, Robert A. S. *History of Civilization in Palestine.* New York: Putnam. 139 pp. 40c. net.
 Morey, William C. *Outlines of Greek History... and Outlines of Roman History to Charlemagne.* New York: American Book Company. 378 and 366 pp. \$1.50.
 Rogers, Robert W. *The Recovery of the Ancient Orient.* New York: Eaton & Mains. 61 pp. 25c. net.
 Westermann, William L. *The Story of the Ancient Nations.* New York: Appleton. 554 pp. [8½ p. bibl.]. \$1.50 net.

English History.

Douglas-Irvine, Helen. *History of London.* New York: Pott. 396 pp. \$3.00 net.
 Edgar, Madalen. *Froissart's Chronicles, retold for Young People from Lord Berner's Translation.* New York: Crowell. 283 pp. \$1.50 net.
 Gasquet, Francis A., D.D. *Abbot Wallingford, an Inquiry into the Charges made Against Him and his Monks.* St. Louis: Herder. 79 pp. 60c. net.
 Jackson, Smith and Bruce. *Lectures on British Commerce.* New York: Pitman. 279 pp. \$3.00.
 Lang, Andrew. *A School History of England.* New York: Dodd, Mead. 344 pp. \$2.00 net.
 Lawrence, W. J. *The Elizabethan Playhouse and other studies.* Philadelphia: Lippincott. 266 pp. \$3.50 net.
 Smith, F. A., and Walker, A. P. *Pupils' note-book and Study Outline in English History.* New York: American Book Company. 141 pp. 25c.

European History.

Chamberlain, Houston S. *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.* [new edition] in 2 vols. New York: J. Lane. 102-578, 580 pp. \$5.00 net.
 Guggenheimer, A. *A general history of the Christian Era.* In 3 vols. Vol. 2. *The Protestant Revolution.* (new ed.). St. Louis: Herder. 472 pp. \$1.50.
 Shelley, Henry C. *Old Paris; its social, historical and literary associations.* Boston: L. C. Page. 354 pp. \$3.00 net.

Medieval History.

Burnham, John M. *An old Portuguese Version of the Rule of Benedict.* Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati. 78 pp. 75c.
 Heath, Sidney H. *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 351 pp. \$3.00 net.
 Rait, R. S. *Life in the medieval university.* New York: Putnam. 164 pp. 40c. net

Biography.

Wharton, O. P. *Lincoln and the beginning of the Republican Party in Illinois.* Springfield, Ill.: State Historical Society. 5 pp. Gratis.

Buchan, John. *Sir Walter Raleigh.* New York: Holt. 236 pp. \$2.00 net.

Government and Politics.

American Academy. *The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall.* Philadelphia: American Academy Political Science. 352 pp. \$1.00.

Dole, Charles F., D.D. *The right and wrong of the Monroe Doctrine.* Boston: World Peace Found. 12 pp. Gratis.

Giddings, Franklin H. *The relation of social theory to public policy.* New York: Am. Asso. for Int. Conciliation. 13 pp. Gratis.

Gillan, Silas Y., and Hewitt, W. C. *Essentials of Civil Government, U. S. and Wisconsin.* Milwaukee: S. Y. Gillan & Co. 148 pp. 50c.

Lange, Christian L. *Parliamentary Government and the Interparliamentary Union.* Boston: World Peace Found. 15 pp. Gratis.

Macy, Jesse. *Party Organization and Machinery.* (new ed.). New York: Century. 316 pp. \$1.25 net.

Myers, Denys P., compiler. *Revised list of Arbitration Treaties.* Boston: World Peace Found. 23 pp. Gratis.

Oppenheim, L. F. L. *International Law.* Vol. 2, *War and Neutrality.* (new ed.). New York: Longmans. 711 pp. \$6.50 net.

Winslow, Erving. *Neutralization; America's Opportunity.* Boston: World Peace Found. 20 pp. Gratis.

In connection with the dedication of the new State Education Building at Albany, N. Y., on October 15-17, an address was made by Canon H. Hensley Henson, of Westminster Abbey, upon "The Value of Historical Studies to the Higher Learning." In this Canon Henson spoke of a knowledge of the past as being the greatest emancipating power in civilization, as an ignorance of the past is its greater curse. "The study of history," said he, "is one of the great cementing forces of society; a corrective against fanaticism. History should not be treated as a satisfactory source of precedent, but as a record of progress, and in applying history to our lives, the student should be on the lookout not for parallels alone, but for differences as well. History thus becomes an instrument of culture in the State, and every branch of learning gains by the relating of its facts to history."

Mr. Charles W. Disbrow, of the East High School, Cleveland, O., has prepared a series of questions in English history, designed to accompany lessons assigned by the author, and containing page references to Montgomery's "Leading Facts of English History."

NOTES.

The Historical Association (English) has issued an "Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature, No. 1," for 1911. The object of the "Bulletin," which it is hoped to issue annually, is to keep teachers of history in touch with what is being done in historical research. The principal books appearing during the year are reported upon by scholars of recognized standing. Eight periods of history are given: Ancient, early medieval, medieval (1000-1200), later medieval (1200-1485), the sixteenth century, the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century. Under each one of these headings, a summary is given of the works published during 1911 upon the period. No attempt is made at extending reviewing, but rather at an estimate of the advance in historical literature during the year.

On October 5-12 there was given in Philadelphia a historical pageant under the direction of Dr. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. The pageant differed from many of those given recently in America in that it was not arranged in the form of a street parade, but was presented upon the slope of a hill in Fairmount Park. The site of the pageant was at Belmont, the old home of Judge Peters, where were entertained many personages important in the revolutionary and early constitutional period. The giving of the pageant upon a plain, rather than in the form of a parade, made possible the development of many dramatic features, and also gave opportunity for artistic grouping of colors; indeed, it may be said that while the scenes of the pageant were as true to the historic facts probably, as it is possible to make them to-day, they were a greater success from the artistic and dramatic standpoint. It was the opinion of competent critics that the pageant was by all odds the most successful spectacle of the kind ever presented in America. Dr. Oberholtzer, who has made a careful study of the best European pageants, as well as of the recent ones in America, was supported in the organization of the affair by a committee of public-spirited citizens and by an organization known as the Historical Pageant Association, and so great was the popular interest in the pageant that three additional performances were given beyond those originally planned.

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No. 2. View of the White House, in 1799, before its occupation by President Adams, in 1800.